

1: Campbell

EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

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/For general information on various inter-personal relationships within the extended family,
see category 596./

8 HISTORICAL & GEOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION

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221 beyond. Here many of the shepherds have no grazing rights and they must rent pasture sometimes at great cost from village communities or private individuals. Since the first world war [22] the settlement of refugees and more intensive farming techniques have progressively reduced the area of grassland in the plains. Each year the search for winter grass by the Sarakatsani becomes wider and more desperate. But quite apart from the [57] greater geographical dispersion of the community in winter, the problems of weather and lambing isolate the shepherds of each flock whose only concern during these months is the care of their [579] animals. In summer, although the Sarakatsani are still dispersed over 390 square miles of mountainous country, there is time to visit kinsmen who live at a distance, weddings and festivals are celebrated, and in general there is a greater awareness of the community and its life. Winter in the plains is a kind of exile; the return in spring to the mountains of Zagori is the return home.

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543 The pattern of social groupings in this community is extremely simple. The most restricted unit is the most important. This is the family, whether in its elementary or extended form. To this small group the individual owes almost exclusively his or her time, energy, and loyalties. However, the family group is normally unable to manage its flocks without some assistance from outside and, in these circumstances, two, three, or more families related by kinship or marriage, associate to form 'a company' (παρέα), or stani (στάσι)²⁰, which for functional reasons must include at least four adult males and generally numbers between 15 and 50 persons of all ages. But the duties which the individual assumes as a member of the 'company' are specific and have an obvious relation to the welfare of his family. The relationship between the constituent families of the group is contractual; any family may elect to leave the association whenever it wills, any family may be expelled by the decision of the other members. Apart from this participation in a group of [57] co-operating and related families, the shepherd normally has no membership in other social groupings which might conflict with his exclusive duties to the family.

²⁰ I shall employ these terms interchangeably, generally using 'company' when the emphasis is on the relations of co-operation between the constituent families of the group, and 'stani' when the context refers to the undifferentiated group with its huts, flocks, and grazing land.

59 and sibling quite so rapidly, though it is significant that after
581 his marriage and even before the birth of his children he is
602 unlikely to undertake a vengeance killing for a murdered
brother or a dishonoured sister. Eventually, after five to ten
years, but often sooner, he parts from the extended family and
from all his remaining categorical rights and obligations as son
and brother.

• 593 Thus siblings before their marriages are a unity for a person
581 outside the group. If he injures or insults any member of the
group, he attacks the whole group, every male member of which
is under equal obligation to retaliate. At this stage siblings of
the same sex are socially equivalent as to status, there is an
almost complete identity of interest, and their mutual relations
are governed by a consciousness of their common filiation to the
same parents. After the marriages of the brothers and sisters of
a sibling group the situation entirely changes. They no longer
form a unity against the outsider nor are they socially equivalent;
they have become differentiated by their marriages and
young families. Their interests are no longer identified, and
siblings both in form and effect are now merely collaterals.
There is a growing tendency to isolation from all collateral
lines, not only those of the individual's own siblings. The supreme
value in a man's life now becomes the economic welfare and
social prestige of his children. He is, therefore, not always free
to give unreserved and unthinking aid to his brothers and
[602] cousins as he used to do. Moreover, he is now forced, also for
the sake of his children, who derive the half of their kindred
through their mother, to consolidate his relationship with his
affines. This he can only do by weakening to some degree the
previously exclusive solidary relations between himself and his
brothers and sisters.

Always implicit in Sarakatsan kinship relations is the interplay of the two notions of sibling solidarity and parental obligation. Parental obligation, of course, is established through legitimate marriage and the resulting conjugal relationship, but the very strength of the latter relation is founded on the sacred character of parental love and duty. In the elementary family the two principles of sibling solidarity and parental obligation are complementary and together guide its members in their duties and exclusive affections. But in the relations of married

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siblings and collaterals the two principles are opposed, sibling solidarity being the source and justification of relationship and moral obligation between collaterals, while parental obligation is the principle which, within the limits of a bilateral kindred, isolates the family from other kinsmen and their families. At the risk of some repetition, and in summary form, the critical aspects of these relationships are: (1) before marriage siblings are bound to one another by categorical obligations; (2) after marriage, the purpose of which is the begetting of children, this nexus is gradually dissolved; (3) after marriage the supreme value in a man's life becomes the welfare of his children; (4) parenthood forces a man for the sake of his children to cultivate his affines; this weakens to some extent the relationship with his siblings; (5) brothers after living together for a few years after marriage as a united extended family divide the common flock and the common household; after partition brothers generally continue to co-operate in the management of their sheep, but on a basis of strict accountancy; (6) collateral kinship is conceived by the Sarakatsani themselves as an extension from the family of origin which relates kinsmen to an original pair of siblings; thus collaterals see themselves as united by derivation from a once united sibling group but divided as a result of the marriages contracted by the members of that group and their children.

I must now introduce a consideration which to some small extent qualifies the symmetry which I have claimed to be a feature of the bilateral kindred. The absence of a unilineal principle of descent grouping does not prevent the Sarakatsani from having a very strong sentimental interest in their patriline and a formal preference for those kinsmen who are related through the father, especially those who bear the same name. The cousins with whom a man often shares his early childhood years in an extended family are agnatic cousins. And while the obligation to carry out blood vengeance does not extend beyond the elementary family, it is significant that when a man voluntarily avenges a kinsman beyond this narrow circle it is almost always an agnatic first cousin. Yet it must be said again that outside the elementary family moral obligations to kinsmen of the same collateral degree are the same however the relationship is mediated. The man, who states categorically that 'we

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THE STATUS OF THE BRIDE

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family comes into the hut and will not sit down unless specifically requested to do so. ⁵⁸⁵
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The young bride is punctilious in providing all these expressions of respect and humility. In this new situation what is important for her is that her formal membership in the extended family shall in as short a time as is conventionally possible become a more spontaneous acceptance of herself by the other members of the group. Yet even at this early stage, when as an individual she counts for very little, she is aware that her person separates her husband from his family of origin. The dowry ⁵⁸³ wealth which she has brought, and in which the whole family takes pride, is property held in trust for her unborn children; it may not be alienated for the benefit of her husband's brothers. The distaff, with which she spins her first wool on the Wednesday, is a gift from her husband, preferably carved by himself or ⁵⁸⁵ if he has not the skill, at least commissioned by him. ⁵⁹⁶ The bride may not bring a distaff from her own home nor may she receive one as a gift from her mother-in-law or anybody else in her husband's family. This is an object with mystical power which will protect her children from evil forces. In these respects it is a symbol of the solidarity and future autonomy of her family which as yet scarcely exists but whose full development only death or sterility can hinder. Her awareness of the odd contradiction ⁵⁸⁵ in her new situation, the humility required of her on the ⁵⁹⁶ one hand, the assurance of her ultimate triumph on the other, ⁵² only increases the bride's feelings of shyness and shame, attitudes which on other grounds she is anyway expected to express.

During the early months of the marriage the young husband ⁵⁸⁵ gives the minimum of overt public attention to his bride. He ⁵⁸³ may, in stern, almost harsh, tones, make some simple request of ⁵⁹⁶ her for food and drink or dry clothes, but he does not make conversation. For her part, a bride will never address her husband before other members of the family. If she requires anything she arranges it through her husband's brother. There is not, during this period, the slightest inclination on the part of the husband to champion his wife in any dispute which she may have with the other women of the family. Nor does he show the least annoyance when a brother, in his presence,

* See Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part B, p. 410.

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585 gives his wife some peremptory order. The husband's obligations and affections are still entirely contained within his own family of origin. Indeed his behaviour reflects an almost compulsive assertion that 'this is how it will always be'. Clearly if this fiction is to be maintained for even a short space of time, the husband must not display any affective interest in his bride, since this would inevitably disturb the equilibrium in the old [833] pattern of his relations with his siblings and his parents. Therefore in his general behaviour the husband attempts to deny the importance of his exclusive sexual relationship with his bride and he makes every effort to conceal the occurrence and frequency [513] of sexual intercourse. However, since all the members of a family sleep together in the same hut, this is not easy.

585 Before the marriage ceremony a temporary hut is built for the bridal pair, or sometimes a space is cleared in the hut which 833 is otherwise used as a store-shed. Customarily the bridegroom 596 does not go with the sheep for eight days from the Sunday of 577 his marriage and he is thus able to sleep in privacy with his 342 bride for six nights. Although this initial privacy is granted to him, the whole progress of these marital events is shared by the groom with his brothers; some of this information also leaks through to the female members of the family. In this first sexual communion the entire family identifies itself with the young husband. There is no question at this stage of his having any affection for his bride. This may emerge later partly as a result of the intimacies now initiated. It is something of an ordeal and a matter of considerable anxiety for all Sarakatsan bridegrooms that they should be able to effect a technically successful assault upon this strange woman and uphold their reputation for manliness in its most literal sense, a reputation which affects the prestige of the entire family. The stress on physical and moral manliness (ἀνδριστεύς) in the stereotype of the ideal man encourages in the Sarakatsani a deep-seated fear of sexual impotence on this critical occasion which is, indeed, almost a public ceremony of initiation. In the morning, success or failure on the previous night is discussed with brothers in embarrassed monosyllables and, if there has been difficulty, they try to give advice and encouragement. Any lack of sexual prowess almost inevitably reaches the ears of the bride's family and the possibility of a leakage farther afield cannot be overlooked.

596 their cousins. In many unilineal descent systems, on the other hand, the interests and rights of a woman's children are so intimately related to those of the children of their father's brothers that irrespective of personal feelings, her duty to her own children demands loyal co-operation with all members of the lineage. The weak extended family of the Sarakatsani does not provide a framework with continuity in time in which units segmented in one context may yet be united in another. When the joint flock of animals has been divided, co-operation between married brothers, and therefore contractual obligation, generally continues, but categorical obligations deriving from common membership in the family of origin are no longer valid. An index of this instability of the extended family is the relatively early retirement of the father, which has already been discussed.

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An important characteristic of the extended family is that it is based on consent rather than authority. The flock and everything connected with it is held as common property, and since brothers have equal interests in the flock, decisions which concern its welfare are based on a general consensus of opinion. The eldest brother, who normally acts as the executive head, implements the general decision of the group. He also acts as its treasurer and all money is controlled by him. When business affairs take him to Jannina he does the shopping for the whole group, returning with perhaps a pair of shoes for the wife of one of his brothers, a cotton frock for his daughter, and a new jacket for one of his nephews. If one of his brothers wants cigarettes or requires money to play cards in the coffee-shop he comes and states his needs without embarrassment. The younger brother knows from experience what is reasonable and he does not usually make impossible demands on the family's slender resources. If he injures his family, he injures himself. The solidarity of brothers in such matters, even after marriage and the birth of children, is remarkable. Yet gradually, and in most cases with the greatest reluctance, they come to realize that their several obligations to their new families of marriage preclude the possibility of their living together indefinitely in a single domestic household. Observation of the conduct of their wives may often assist them in arriving at this conclusion.

The attitudes of wives towards one another are far less

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591 of this type, is that after the first two or three brothers have
 596 contracted out of the extended family, the remaining two or
 591 three younger brothers hold together until the youngest is
 married and established before a further and final division is
 made.

593 It is now necessary to introduce a further complicating factor.
 596 The groups of brothers we have been considering have sisters
 592 to whom they owe certain categorical obligations. We are here
 mainly concerned with two of these obligations. They must, as
 members of the family, contribute their share towards her
 dowry, and they must defend her honour (τιμή). The marriage
 of the sister represents for the brother the successful and honour-
 able accomplishment of these tasks: her virginity has been con-
 served intact and the dowry has been handed over. In logical
 order these obligations are prior to any that a man later acquires
 through marriage in the new elementary family which is then
 formed. Thus, ideally, it is held that all the sisters in a family
 should marry first, before even the eldest brother takes a wife.
 In this way, duties which a man has in the role of brother in the
 family of origin do not come into conflict with his duties as a
 father and husband in the family of marriage. Generally speak-
 ing, men marry when they are about thirty or thirty-one years
 of age, whereas their sisters hope to find a bridegroom when
 they are in their mid-twenties. Table II gives an indication
 of these general trends.

592 The age at which any girl marries depends on a number of
 596 different considerations. Normally, her own family do not wish
 to lose her before she is about twenty-five years of age. It
 [583] requires the labour of years to accumulate a worthy dowry;
 and this is important for reasons of prestige. Further, the family
 does not want to be deprived of her working services prema-
 turely. Despite the stated ideal that all the sisters should marry
 before the eldest brother, this is seldom realized since it would
 destroy the balance of female labour in the group. Generally at
 least one sister remains unmarried until the bride of the eldest
 brother is brought into the family. Another factor which delays
 the marriage of a girl is the real distress which this causes her
 parents and siblings in a group where affective loyalties are so
 [584] remarkably strong. However, a family may accept a proposal
 of marriage for a daughter in her early twenties if it helps the

SEPARATION

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In describing the process of development which occurs within and between the elementary family of marriage and the extended family of origin, it has been possible to document a number of statements about kinship relations which were presented rather more formally in the previous chapter. During this review, a constant theme has been the inherent conflict between the sibling bond and the conjugal relation. It becomes clear that the conjugal relationship only takes priority over the long established relations between siblings after the birth of children; and this is because, in the Sarakatsan view, the obligations of parents towards their children possess an absolute and sacred quality. Indeed, it is the conflict between the individual's roles in his families of origin and of marriage which provide the key to the understanding of Sarakatsan kinship usages. The individual's withdrawal after marriage from categorical obligations to the other members of the sibling group marks the isolation of the family of marriage; and the increasing kinship distance which separates the husband or wife from brothers and sisters and other collateral kinsmen. And these processes are consistently related to the bilateral form of the kindred and the prohibition on marriage within its limits. [85]

It is also apparent that the processes we have been discussing are not unaffected by the dominantly competitive values of the community. We have seen how the belief that a married man with a family ought to be master in his own household so that he may assert the interests of his own elementary family of marriage, influences the decision of a brother to set up his own household. It is not merely a question of material interest. Prestige is also involved. This is clear in the case of the eldest son, who puts pressure on his father to hand over the administration of family affairs. For in this instance there is no immediate fission of the unit into two or more parts, merely a redistribution of roles. The assumption of the status of head of household is in itself a matter of prestige. It makes a man in principle the equal, in that particular respect, of all the other heads of household in the community, and enables him to compete with them in all those situations where the prize is approval of a man's conduct and ability as worthy of the ideal type family protector. Therefore, in so far as the absolute quality of the parental obligation is institutionalized in the kinship system in the separation of brothers' households, the kinship system is consistent [86]

THE 'COMPANY' OF RELATED FAMILIES 93

have in one another is a source of moral and physical strength which supports their prestige in the community. The second observation is that of the other heads of family associated with the brothers who form the nucleus of a 'company', eleven are linked affinally and only seven collaterally. This reflects the bilateral form of the kindred. A man does not co-operate with affines from personal preference; in the absence of brothers he would generally prefer to work and live with cousins, nephews, or uncles. But he must always consider the interests of his children and if a wife's brother or a sister's husband is the member of a strong and influential group of brothers he may attach himself to their stani for the sake of his children, to whom they are closer kinsmen than, for example, his own first cousins. 474
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The tselingas, the leader of the co-operating 'company', holds this position not by reason of particular charismatic qualities, but simply because he is the eldest brother of the sibling group which dominates the stani. It is true that if the eldest son is diffident, lacking in intelligence, or physically deformed, another son will be nominated by the father to succeed him when he retires from the active control of the family's affairs; but this happens only infrequently. If the group of brothers are still living as one extended family the eldest brother is both the executive head of his own family of origin and the tselingas of the co-operating 'company'. After the brothers of the extended family establish separate households, the eldest brother ceases to have any formal domestic jurisdiction over his brothers, but he generally remains as the tselingas of the group because of his greater experience in negotiations with merchants and officials. But although a man becomes a tselingas because of his 'structural' position and not because of personal qualities, he is nevertheless judged against the ideal type leader who above all possesses the quality of cleverness (*ēxuvāda*). He ought to be mature but not old, and he should have many brothers, a large kindred, influential affines, patrons in high positions, and grazing land. For it is a man with these personal and practical advantages who attracts into his following the families of kinsmen or affines who do not have brothers, cannot agree with them, or whose brothers are not sufficiently wealthy and influential to remain together as the nucleus of a co-operating 'company'. 554
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Zagori

COUSINS

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The importance of virginity is such that it leads to the complete segregation of the sexes amongst unmarried persons. Only in the family and the kindred is it possible for unmarried persons of opposite sex even to hold conversation. And it will be remembered that generally men do not marry until they are thirty, girls until they are about twenty-five. These two circumstances, a relatively late age of marriage, and the segregation of the sexes except in the family and kindred, inevitably add to the value of an unmarried boy's social relations with his young female cousins; for apart from his own sisters, they are the only unmarried women of his own generation with whom he is allowed to have any contact. A youth is very close to his sister to whom he is bound by categorical obligations, yet his behaviour with her is restrained. With female cousins, on the other hand, he behaves in a familiar manner which includes a good deal of mutual teasing and bodily contact. Particularly among first cousins of opposite sex between the ages of thirteen and sixteen familiarity is expressed in playful wrestling, bottom smacking, and cheek pinching. Generally, teasing between second cousins of opposite sex is a little more restrained; for here one approaches the margin of kinship. The girl is a kinswoman but she is also almost a 'stranger' in terms of kinship distance. The risk, for a boy, of being tempted into some sexual misconduct is inherently greater. Friendship between rather older cousins takes the form of lounging before the hearth, the youth perhaps resting his head on the girl cousin's shoulder while they talk and joke. In this context teasing is a social convention which permits a form of very mild and unacknowledged sexual byplay, yet absolutely prohibits any degree of overt sexuality and is easily rationalized as being 'only a game'. It reconciles the two guises under which a female cousin appears to the youth; first, as the only female company of his own age that he is permitted to enjoy outside his family until he reaches the age of thirty; and secondly, as a kinswoman whose honour he is bound in faith and trust to uphold.

If young kinsmen and kinswomen find in each other the only heterosexual companionship which is permitted outside the family, it is also true in a more general sense that in this community true friendship is only possible between kinsmen. Friends are, necessarily, kinsmen. From this general body of relatives a

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youth provide enough incidents to nourish any personal aversion which for one reason or another may have arisen between young cousins. And if brothers quarrel, this, of course, inevitably affects the relations of their children. But a marked coolness between cousins of this class is rare; the Neochori group of 317 Sarakatsani provides only one example. ⁶⁰⁵ [528]

Relations between men and women who are reciprocally mother's brother's children and father's sister's children are almost always close and affectionate. These cousins are the children of a sister and brother whose relationship before the sister's marriage was governed by categorical obligations which concerned the honour of the girl, her brother, and the whole family. For the sister who arrives at her wedding day with a reputation in the community for right conduct, a brother has feelings of deep gratitude and trust which he expresses in his constant anxious inquiries about her welfare from anyone he meets who lives near her husband's huts. He is always ready to help his brother-in-law, however little he may like him personally, in order to make life a little easier for his sister and her children. And since women spend much time discussing kinsmen and their affairs, the sister's children learn at an early age about their cousins who are the children of her brother. But the relations of these cousins are not only a question of sentiment and its extension. Marriage is a contract between two unrelated families; and despite mutual distrust both groups are interested to consolidate their alliance. In the early years the two families of origin of the married pair may find in it a useful addition to the range of their co-operative relationships. However, the true concern of the husband and his wife's brothers is that their children shall not lack the support of a strong and devoted kindred. Their children are reciprocally those cousins who normally live in different localities and do not co-operate in sheep management. Between them there ought to be the kind of trust and sympathy which lead to deep friendship, the exchange of free favours, and that measure of general moral support without which a man's reputation cannot survive for long among the Sarakatsani. ⁶⁰⁵ [593]

From time to time there are opportunities to strengthen the affective quality of these relations. For a number of years after her marriage a woman pays one or possibly two visits a year to ⁶⁰⁵ [593] 574

605 her parents' home and takes her young children with her. These
 574 visits which last for five or six days are eagerly looked forward
 [593] to by the children who find there new playfellows and grand-
 parents, uncles, and aunts far more indulgent than those at their
 own home. The inevitable frictions and jealousies of communal
 life do not threaten the cross-cousin relationship in its formative
 period; on the contrary it grows in an atmosphere of gaiety,
 holiday, and permissiveness. It is, then, not surprising that in
 seven cases out of ten a man names a cousin of this category as
 [426] his most intimate and trusted friend. In later life these cousins
 are remarkably generous and trusting, and there is a noticeable
 tendency for cousins related in this way to give small money
 loans at moments of need or unexpected crisis.

In general, cousins who are related through their mothers'
 sisters are less likely to have known one another in childhood,
 and relations in adult life are usually based on the conventional
 605 existence of cousinship. Married sisters do not pay one another
 574 the kind of formal visit which lasts for a number of days unless
 593 their husbands have developed common interests on the basis
 of their affinal connection. Relations will be more intimate
 where the two sisters have married men who live in the same
 summer or winter neighbourhood. The two women will make
 informal daily visits and their husbands will encourage the
 [582] children to form close friendships with their cousins. Sometimes
 a man arranges a marriage between his own cousin and his
 wife's sister. If the cousin is a father's brother's son, the two
 sisters may find themselves close neighbours and, perhaps, work-
 605 ing in the same co-operating 'company'. Yet even where two
 609 young men who are sisters' sons meet for the first time at a
 wedding or village festival they at once adopt the easy, friendly,
 and sympathetic attitude towards one another which is typical
 of the cousin relationship at all times, and equally foreign to
 the behaviour which must be adopted towards an unrelated
 person of the same sex and age, even where this unrelated person
 has been a close neighbour and has shared the same school desk.

[591] The feature of cross-cousin or maternal parallel cousin relationships which distinguishes them from the ties between brothers' sons is that they generally involve physical separation, since sisters in a system of patrilocal marriage must leave the parental home. Men prefer to bring their brides from a distant

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of good advice, telling him in detail how he must deport⁵⁸⁵ himself that day on the road and later at the home of the bride.⁶⁰⁵

At the home of the bride kinsfolk support her family in a⁵⁸⁵ similar manner, particularly in a number of situations where a⁶¹² measure of dramatized hostility is shown to the groom's party when they arrive to take away the bride; but these are episodes which I shall describe in the following chapter. The dressing and adornment of the bride, naturally, is a more elaborate affair than the preparation of the groom. In this, two or three senior²⁹⁴ married aunts or first cousins generally take a hand, assisted by the more sophisticated village dressmaker who in most cases has been responsible for cutting and sewing the white wedding gown. All through the long night of Saturday the bride sits in her parents' hut. She must not sleep for this would demon-⁵¹³strate an equanimity at odds with the grief she is expected to feel at the thought of leaving her parents and her home on the morrow. Her kinswomen sit closely round her. Two of them hold her hands. From time to time they sing the repetitive,⁵³³ intensely sad, songs that tell of the bride's departure from the only home she has ever known.

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In this chapter I have attempted to give a fuller description⁶¹² of the relations of collateral kin than it was possible to present⁵⁹³ in chapter three, where I was mainly concerned to describe the formal characteristics of the kindred. I mentioned, then, that various aspects of kindred relations might be seen in terms of an opposition between the solidarity of siblings and the principle of parental obligation, the former being the source of moral solidarity between kinsmen, the latter strongly influencing the isolation of the family group from the collateral kinsmen of its members. The 'free favours' which a man does without thought or calculation for an uncle, cousin, or nephew, are related to kinship solidarity, the qualities of which follow from the notion of an extensive sibling relationship; while calculated co-operation which involves the corporate wealth of family groups is influenced by the particularistic obligations of parenthood. As⁶¹² one might expect, those cousins, father's brother's children,⁶⁰⁵ whose families of origin were concerned in co-operative sheep

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within this narrow circle affinal relationships ^{But even} which do not mediate links of cousinship in the first descendant generation are vulnerable to stress and friction. In particular a man's relations with the brothers of his brother's wife are easily beset with resentment and jealousies. Inevitably one brother sometimes makes a more successful marriage than another, whether this be judged in terms of dowry, the social standing of the bride's family, or her physical beauty. Furthermore, marriage and the birth of his children end a man's categorical obligations to his own siblings; and at the same time he must give particular consideration to his relations with the close kinsmen of his wife. These are events which must lead to a growing distance between the members of a sibling group. A man feels free to show more enmity to affines related through his brother's wife, persons who stand for the weakening of kinship ties in his family of origin and his kindred, than to affines related through his own wife who represent co-operative endeavour in the support of his own descendants.

An example of difficulties between affines occurred in the extended family of Theodoros Ferendinos, whose affairs were discussed in some detail in chapter four. The second brother, Demetrios, married the sister of George Balatsos. During the village elections, in 1955, an agreement was made between the heads of all the Sarakatsan households to cast their votes in unanimous support of the opposition party which had secretly promised a reduction in pasturage dues. This agreement became known to the other side. The President of the village by an astute combination of bribery and threats persuaded Balatsos and another influential family head secretly to ignore the agreement and vote for his own group. In the event, the President retained office by a margin of five votes. The defection of the Balatsos family from the original agreement did not, however, remain a secret. When Theodoros Ferendinos met George Balatsos in a street in Jannina a week after the election, bitter words passed between the two men. From that day, although the two families lived in the same village, the members of the two groups avoided meeting or talking to one another. Demetrios and his wife, however, were exceptions. Without mentioning the fact Demetrios paid a number of visits to his affines whose huts lay only some 300 yards away. Theodoros

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602 and his other brothers were able effectively to express their
 578 hostility towards the Balatsos group for their faithless behaviour.
 But Demetrios, because they were the family of his wife and
 the close maternal kin of his two young children, felt that in
 some way he must maintain these relations. For some months
 602 this fact was a source of considerable annoyance to his brothers,
 578 who inside the family circle and in the absences of his wife
 593 ridiculed his attitude of compromise. Fortunately he is an easy-
 tempered man and accepted these rebukes in silence. But an
 element of strain was introduced into the relations of the
 brothers which in other families might have led to blows and
 the permanent severance of relations. A man must try to hold a
 balance between his attachment to his siblings which derives
 from the bonds of mutual identification in his family of origin
 and his relations of contractual co-operation with the kinsmen
 of his wife. This is not always easy.

602 It is this 'balance', in relation to parents' categorical duties
 [594] to their children, which leads to the emancipation of the
 elementary family from both the families of origin of the two
 [596] parents. In describing life in the extended family we saw how
 the control of the husband's family over his bride suddenly
 weakens after the birth of her first child; how the brothers of
 the husband no longer give the bride peremptory orders in his
 presence; how they must never interfere with her handling of
 her children and so on.

593 There is a corresponding degree of independence from any
 594 influence of the wife's family of origin; but in this instance it is
 established immediately on the day of marriage. When a
 bride goes to see her parents, she is not permitted for the four or
 five days of her visit to do any work. As an honoured guest
 she sits by the hearth, and to occupy her hands, while she
 gossips, she spins wool. But it must be her own wool especially
 transported in a small sack by her husband for this purpose.
 She is not permitted to spin her mother's wool even in a
 situation where the family is under pressure to finish the dowry
 of a younger sister.

593 Moreover, when a father or brother has given his daughter or
 606 sister in marriage, he is quite powerless to interfere directly if
 the husband maltreats her. Chronic wife-beating is rare, but
 where it does occur, the wife's family can only help her by

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indirect pressures, such as the withdrawal of moral and practical support from the husband or, if his conduct is not widely known, the threat to ridicule him in public. But these, it may be added, are powerful sanctions. 593 606

The content of co-operation between affines is not significantly different from the kind of assistance given and received by cognatic kinsmen. Since affines generally live in a different neighbourhood, it happens not infrequently that a wife's brother acts as negotiator in arranging a marriage for a younger brother of his sister's husband. The fact that he is willing to perform this service is in itself a recommendation of the prospective bridegroom's family. It is also because they generally live in different neighbourhoods that a man sometimes turns to a close affine when he is in difficulty over the pasturing of his animals. When Apostolis Zygos had a few acres of grazing land in excess of his winter grazing needs, he rented them to the husband of his brother's daughter for a sum somewhat lower than an offer made to him by an unrelated neighbour. The neighbour was hard-pressed for grass and later showed his resentment, it is alleged, by stealing two of Zygos' lambs. The niece's husband brought a hundred of his sheep from his own winter grazing, forty miles away, and employed a local village boy to assist one of his brothers in watching them. Thus, affinal ties, like relations within the kindred, although they often involve physical separation, generally take precedence over the more tenuous obligations of being a good neighbour. 602 233

Another example of help given to an affine illustrates the variable character of this assistance. In the territory of certain of the eastern villages of Zagori the Sarakatsani do not live in or close to the village but build their encampments, each stani separately; some miles away and close to their grazing land. Alec Katris lives three miles from the village of Laista. His small ten-year-old daughter Chrysanthé cannot make this long journey to school each day unaccompanied. And since Alec has no kinsman or affine who lives close to Laista, he sends his daughter for the summer term to live with the family of the brother of his sister's husband who lives at Skamneli, a neighbouring village, where she attends the school. There is no money payment for the girl's board but at the beginning of the 602 (361) (431)

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and cares for her children. Her role is expressive in that she is a symbol of the mutual love and acceptance which bind the different members of the family to one another. The shepherd husband is often away from his home for days and nights, and if the weather is bad he spends much of this time soaked to the skin and shivering. In these depressing conditions he thinks and talks about little else than dry clothes, hot food, and the fire he will sit by when he returns to his hut. The hearth with its fire situated in the centre of the circular hut and tended by the wife or mother is, in fact and in symbol, the centre of Sarakatsani family life; it gives physical warmth and protection against the spiritual forces of evil. The husband is dependent on his wife for the simple but to him very important attentions which he associates with its light and warmth. In return he seldom interferes in what concerns the work and duties of his wife. In a contingent sense, she is independent in her own sphere of action.

But, ultimately, the authority of the husband over the wife is absolute. A wife must show respect (*σεβασμός*) to her husband before strangers at all times. If they have to walk together in the village or the town, the wife follows some two or three yards behind him. When visitors are entertained in her hut, the wife never sits and eats with her husband and the guests, but stands erect and motionless ready to attend to the needs of the squatting men. Even in the extended family household husband and wife do not eat together. The men eat first, the women of the household afterwards. No portion of a cooked dish (*προσφάτ*) is set aside for the women, who must satisfy themselves with whatever is left by the men; this is often very little. The act of eating together implies sharing equally in what is placed upon the one common dish from which the Sarakatsani customarily eat. It indicates in that particular context, a certain equality between those who partake. Only sometimes in the intimacy of the elementary family may the husband, wife, and children sit and eat together. For in this most private situation, the relationship of mutual identification between the members of the elementary family makes them, for that moment, equals in the communion of their common meal.

Indeed, there is a marked difference between the public and private behaviour of a man and his wife towards each other.

- 593 Publicly a husband addresses his wife in a stern severe voice. Requests are commands, barked out in sharp phrases. It is important for a man's self-regard (*tywotoube*) that other men should see that he is master in his own house. In public the wife is meek and modest, silent and submissive. She does not smile at him or laugh with him before strangers. But in the seclusion of the hut matters are otherwise. She abandons the mask of expressionless humility and discusses with her husband all the affairs of the family, putting forward her own suggestions in a respectful but fearless fashion. Yet even here respect is implicit and a wife must never use tones of mockery or abuse towards her husband.

Obedience to her husband is a moral imperative for the wife.

- [626] She will not be excused by public opinion, however badly she may have been treated by the man. She cannot refuse to cohabit with him sexually. Conversely, the act of disobedience by which she damages her husband most severely is adultery.

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558 In adultery she makes her husband a cuckold (*xepatōs*), one who wears a horn. 'She puts horns on him' (*toū bāzei xēpata*), it is said. The implication that the cuckold wears a horn may be an ironical allusion to the sexual potency which his wife's action suggests he does not possess.¹ Adultery attacks the moral integrity and honour of the family and makes a laughing-stock of its leader and head. Thus, Sarakatsani always insist that if a husband surprises the guilty parties in the act, he must first kill his wife and then her seducer. The axiomatic acceptance of family obligations, the uncompromising character of the sanction, and the extreme difficulty of conducting such a liaison secretly, are all factors which contribute to the extremely low incidence of adultery. Indeed, since 1950, there appears to have been only one clear and unambiguous case of discovered adultery.

- [684] 593 The disobedience of the wife in the sense of flatly refusing to do the spoken bidding of her husband is also rare. This situation or the mutual irritation which arises over the 'trivia' of communal living results in the wife receiving a beating with a stick. The Sarakatsani of both sexes accept the right of a husband to strike a disobedient or erring wife. It is also true, however, that men who are continually beating their wives (and certain men

¹ Cf. Pitt-Rivers, *op. cit.*, p. 116; and Onians, *op. cit.*, p. 243.

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in the community have this reputation) are held in considerable contempt. ⁵⁹³
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The story is told of a shepherd who habitually beat his wife before leaving his hut to go to the sheep. One morning he was some distance on his way when he remembered that he had forgotten to beat his wife. He at once returned to his home where he found the woman working at her loom. 'Get up,' he shouted to her, 'so that I can give you your beating' (Σήχω, μωρή, νά σέ δείρω). At these words, his little son, only four years old, flung himself on his father and tried to wound him with a knife. Whether or not this cautionary tale has any foundation of truth, its moral is clear enough. The unjust and over-frequent use of physical force by the husband destroys the moral unity not only of the marriage relationship but of the elementary family itself.

The wife submits herself completely to her husband because she accepts her position as part of a natural and inevitable order. Her sex is part of her fate. The physical strain of domestic labour under harsh conditions is immense. It is rare to find a wife after four or five years of marriage who retains the least hint of her former comeliness. 'When you are married you are enslaved because God wills it so' (παντρεύτηκες, σκλαβώθηκες, γιατί'ό Θεός τὸ θέλει), the women chant. But the wife's acceptance of subordination and physical hardship is also made tolerable partly by her relative independence in her own domain, and more particularly by a consciousness of the significance of her position as wife and mother in the family, a position which relative to that of her husband increases in importance with the passage of the years. Therefore, a wife accepts her husband's authority, shows respect and esteems him, if he proves himself able to protect her children and herself and if he uses his power over his family with a measure of justice. The husband reciprocally approves of his wife if she cares for her children with love and faces her physical labours without showing herself to be that most feared type of female, a quarrelsome grumbler (γχερινιάρα). ⁵⁹³
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The striking complementarity of the roles of the marriage partners (and therefore their mutual dependence), and the unquestioning acceptance of the husband's authority by the wife, partly explain the impressive strength of Sarakatsan ⁵⁹³
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- 593 marriages. But in the Sarakatsani family the obligations of the
 581 parents towards their children transcend all other considerations. It is their duty to bring them up in an honourable and
 [581] integral family group. Divorce is not possible. Consequently the marriage bond, if for no other reason than its position within the total complex of family relations, is an indestructible tie. The husband and wife, through their categorical obligations to their children, are compelled to an almost complete identification of interests.

2. PARENTS AND CHILDREN

- 596
 854 Children from the day of their birth are the centre of attention and interest in the family. The needs of the infant take priority over all others. Since the family generally lives in a single hut without internal partitions, the adults must make many concessions. The new-born child sleeps tightly swaddled in a wooden rocking cradle which is enveloped from end to end in a blanket, so that he lies in a kind of dark airless tent. Mothers are fearful of the effects of cold air and evil spirits, and even at the height of summer a fire is kept burning day and night inside the hut to the discomfiture of the adults. If the child is a light sleeper, nobody is allowed to talk. For the first forty days after the birth, the hut or house after dusk is like a city under siege, with windows boarded, the door barred, and salt and incense at strategic points such as the threshold and window cracks to repel any invasion of the Devil. The child is the single concern, and its condition almost the only topic of conversation.

From its earliest days the infant receives attention from all the members of the family. The grandmother nurses it while her daughter-in-law moves about her many tasks. When he returns from the sheep the father at once turns to his child and plays with it. The grandfather, the uncles, and the unmarried aunts, are always bending over the cradle to smile at it, and young siblings, ignoring the child's resentment, plant enormous
 [P55] kisses on its face. This intense attitude of love and concern for the child on the part of all the members of the extended family does not change as the child grows up.

867 By the age of four, a child has differentiated in an elementary
 P58 fashion the various roles of different individuals in the extended family. He has distinguished between the attitudes of his

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kinsmen who love him and unrelated adults who simply ignore⁸⁶⁷ him. He is clear about the difference between 'our sheep'⁸⁵⁷ around which he skips and smiles, and 'strange sheep' at the sight of which he screws his face into a comical grimace of resentment. About this age, when his spirit of adventure takes him beyond the protection of his own huts, he is almost certain to meet with some unpleasant treatment at the hands of older unrelated children. In these ways the child quickly comes to associate membership in his own family and kindred as synonymous with love and acceptance, and non-membership with hostility. Later experience in adolescence and adult life gives him no cause to change these early established attitudes.

During these first four years the child suffers only the minimum of discipline, almost exclusively at the hands of the mother and sometimes the grandmother. Weaning is a gradual⁸⁶² process and most children take some milk until they are two years old, and occasionally for a year longer. Training in cleanliness is a simple matter. They are not punished for fouling the hut until they are walking strongly; generally, by the age of two a number of sudden evictions from the hut when they have misbehaved, and the ridicule of their siblings and cousins, have persuaded most children to walk outside. In⁸⁵⁸ other matters the child does very much as he likes. He is continually assured by his adult kinsmen that he is admirable and remarkable and his father, in particular, is consistently loving and indulgent. But from about the age of two or two and a half years a mother in her attempts to reduce her child to a minimum of discipline begins to refer to the father as an authority figure. 'Your father will beat you,' she sometimes says in desperation when her own authority fails. The child of three or four years knows quite well that this is most unlikely to happen, but by the time he is four years old he recognizes that the father is the leader of the family and a person in authority. He observes his mother's deference and the disciplinary action which a father sometimes exerts on his elder siblings.

The general picture of the first four years of a child's life⁸⁵⁸ is one of extreme permissiveness on the part of both parents.⁵⁹³ The mother is a source of physical care, comfort, and love, but

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593 also of some discipline. The father appears as benign and indulgent, but in the last year of this period he begins to be recognized by the child as the family leader, although he is not yet actively exercising his authority.

857 From the age of four until they go to school for their compulsory primary education, at an age of between six and a half
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855 and seven years, children remain for the most part in their mother's care. But they begin now to identify themselves with
872 the parent of their own sex. Little girls of four or five follow their mothers about pretending to spin thread from a distaff or to help them in their work; or they play amongst themselves at being mothers, with dolls improvised out of pieces of stick and rags. Boys of five and six are given miniature shepherd crooks with which they solemnly help their fathers and uncles to control the sheep when they are mustered near the huts.

857 They begin, too, to join in the play of their elder brothers and
867 cousins where they learn to throw and wrestle. A small boy always loses but if he shows spirit he is approved of, and his father pats his head and tells him he is a 'tough lad' (γερὸ παιδί). The father remains indulgent but there is now a suggestion that his easy permissive attitude is contingent on the child learning more grown-up ways of behaviour.

872 In his seventh year the child begins to attend school. In the
858 case of both sexes this marks a degree of enforced emancipation from the constant care and supervision of the mother, an emancipation which is greater in the case of the boy than the girl. This introduces a new element of strain into his life. The child now for the first time plays a representative role for his family *vis-à-vis* the outside world. The other children will
[203] know from which family he comes, they will tell their own parents what he did or did not do, the schoolmaster will sit in the coffee-shop and tell his audience that the child of John Carvounis is clever or dull. Not only is the child's new role representative but it involves responsibility since his success or failure in public behaviour reflects in some degree on all the other members of his family, particularly his parents.

869 As their six years of schooling advance, children become
858 progressively more aware that the loving indulgence of their
593 father is conditional on their living up to the standards which
872 are expected of a child of their particular sex and age, especially in behaviour outside the family.

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in behaviour outside the family. The affection of Sarakatsan children for their fathers is remarkable; and the positive sanction of the warmth of the father's reciprocal affection is correspondingly strong. The mother, on the other hand, remains the source of unconditional love, care, and support. When Lambrine, who is twelve years old, returned home with a note from the schoolmaster which said that on account of her constant inattention and consequent backwardness he intended to keep her in the same grade for another year, her father, Theodoros, harangued her bitterly in the courtyard of his house in front of an audience of half a dozen siblings and cousins. The crying child turned to her mother who silently comforted her while the father continued his merciless criticism. It is significant on these occasions that the mother does not disagree with the father's strictness, nor does the father complain at the mother because she is comforting such a shameless child. It seems clear that their roles are complementary; the father acts as an agent of discipline and instruction through whom the child learns that he must hold his own against other children of the same age and sex and that in his behaviour he has a responsibility towards the whole family; the mother, while she does not deny that the child has done wrong, assures him that he is still wanted and accepted within the family circle.

However, very little direct instruction in correct behaviour is received by children through solemn lectures from the father or the mother in the form of 'You must do this, you must not do that.' Children of all ages are tolerated on almost all family occasions and no topic of discussion is considered unfit for their ears. They hear their elders interminably discussing and criticizing the behaviour of adults and children in other unrelated families. Rape, adultery, the quarrels of brothers, public disrespect to a father, the whole gamut of lapses from social virtue is brought indirectly to their attention. Furthermore, the child of ten or eleven is allowed to make his own contributions to such discussions which are listened to with attention if they are not always accepted as correct. During a discussion in one family about the shamelessness of villagers, the young son of eleven years old was able to give some interesting evidence about how he was sitting in a cherry tree when a villager began to seduce his sister-in-law immediately beneath. Out of his shame at the

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867 thought of witnessing such an act, he shook the tree violently so
 858 that the guilty pair hurriedly made off. There was a general
 murmur of approval. 'You did well,' was the verdict of his
 uncle, the senior man present. In this way, the young child
 learns at an early age how people in various roles and at various
 ages ought to behave in any particular situation. He discovers
 that an infringement of these norms of conduct reflects upon the
 reputation of the individual, but also upon the general prestige
 of those with whom he is closely connected. He learns what is
 right and what is wrong very largely in terms of a responsibility
 related to the loyalty he owes as a member of a group which
 loves and accepts him; in terms, that is, of identification rather
 than of authority. The school years, then, are a time for the
 learning of new skills and attitudes, and a new role as a
 representative of the family in a wider world. It is a period of
 trial and error during which the child is constantly encouraged
 by the love and support of all the members of the family and
 other kinsmen. The importance of success is continually
 stressed, but occasional failure is still not an irretrievable
 catastrophe.

868 Children leave school when they are about thirteen years old.
 883 Between the ages of thirteen and sixteen girls work under the
 instruction of the mother, and attempt all the usual tasks that
 fall within the general domestic duties of a woman. If she has a
 number of older sisters still unmarried she has an easy life,
 but in any case a mother with a view to her daughter's marriage
 prospects is careful not to overtax her physical strength. These
 years are perhaps the most care-free of a girl's life. Her beauty
 is not yet blemished by hard physical labour; she goes to many
 weddings and spends much of her time spinning, knitting, and
 sewing, in the company of other related girls of about the
 same age.

882 But from the age of seventeen until she marries, a period of
 577 seven to thirteen years, a girl's deportment inside and outside
 the family changes considerably. She must now behave as a
 maiden of virtue who is acutely sensitive to shame (ντροπαλία).

[152] No longer may she show her feelings in an uninhibited way, and
 in her conversation and her movements a careful self-control is
 [593] demanded. Her relations with her father now become less
 familiar. Since she left school at thirteen, a certain barrier has

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already arisen between them, and from that age she is expected ⁸⁸²
 in front of strangers to show him respect by standing when he ⁵⁷⁷
 sits and helping her mother to wait on her father and his ⁵⁹³
 guests. By the time a girl is seventeen there is a noticeable
 neutrality of tone in her conversation with her father. She is
 careful to avoid any reference to sexual matters or the possi-
 bility of her marriage. They are both conscious of the categorical
 obligations they owe to one another and the severe penalties
 which sanction their fulfilment. If a father does not arrange ⁵⁸¹
 an honourable and successful marriage for his daughter, his ⁵⁸⁴
 reputation in the community is diminished. If a daughter ⁵⁵⁸
 does not preserve her virginity and her reputation for virginity, ⁸³⁶
 she faces death possibly; or, should she avoid this fate, she must ⁶⁸⁴
 certainly endure dishonour and a dishonourable marriage to a
 widower or a poor man of ill repute. Although between puberty
 and marriage a daughter receives almost all her instructions
 from her mother, her father, to whom she is subordinate both
 by reason of sex and generation, remains the ultimate source of
 authority.

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At thirteen, when a boy leaves school, he generally begins ⁸⁸²
 his working life as a goatherd. He comes at once under the ⁵⁹³
 direction of his father who in his role of leader and co-ordinator
 of the family labour group exerts a stronger authority over the
 boy than he has yet experienced in his relations with his father.
 A son is now careful to show his father respect. Occasional
 lapses in correct behaviour towards a father are not taken too
 seriously while a boy is still at school. He is, then, still a child
 and is in an obvious sense under the power and instruction of
 his father and the school teacher. He cannot, however rebellious
 his nature, become independent at this stage. The boy leaves
 school at an age which coincides approximately with the onset
 of puberty and at the same time he becomes a full and responsible
 working member of the family under his father's leadership.
 He still offers no threat to his father's position as leader, yet
 his sexual maturity and the responsibilities of his new status in
 the family foreshadow the inevitable retirement of the father
 shortly after the marriage of his eldest son. The firm authority
 exerted by the father at this stage, and the required attitude of

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- 882 respect from the son, serve to dissuade the latter from any
 ● 593 attempt at precocious self-assertion. And it protects a man from the ridicule of his equals; for if a youth answers his father's remarks or instructions in a rude or argumentative fashion, other men smile with satisfaction and say that already 'the boy is acting as family head' (τὸ παιδὶ χάνει τὸν ταξιγγῆ).

882 The respect of the son is a general attitude which accepts the
 593 authority of the father as right and legitimate. A son shows his
 576 respect for his father by carrying out conscientiously the instructions he is given. If he is under the age of twenty, he does not smoke or drink ouzo in his father's presence. Similarly, he does not swear or make coarse remarks or jokes about sexual matters before his father. If a youth is sitting in the
 [295] village coffee-shop when his father enters, he unobtrusively
 [517] gets up and leaves. Drinking, smoking, and playing cards in the coffee-shop are the social activities of those equal in status, and are therefore incompatible with the respect owed by a son to his father. After a young man returns from his military service, when he is about twenty-three years of age, he will begin to drink and smoke with his father at home, a step which he generally takes at the express invitation of the father. The son no longer has occasion to leave the coffee-shop, but this is because a father knowing his son to be there stays at home or, in a large village, goes to another shop; the son, similarly, avoids giving embarrassment and showing disrespect to the father by entering the shop if he knows he is there. If the son is in the shop, the father understands that it is unfair to expect him to leave.

- [541] After his return from military service, the young man becomes a member of the 'pallikari' group* of fully adult but unmarried
 [577] men of the community. When he is not with the sheep, he is expected to show himself in the forum of the coffee-shop, to give periodic proof of certain outward signs of his manliness by drinking, smoking, arguing, and by general self-assertion.
 [599] He cannot do these things in front of his father, without diminishing his father's honour and his own prestige.

593 The idea of an adolescent or adult son striking his father is

* Nowadays this consists of the young unmarried men who have completed their military service, that is of unmarried men between the ages of 23 and 30. The ideal type παλλικάρη is the hero warrior unencumbered with family responsibilities.

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almost unthinkable. Only slightly less serious is swearing at or insulting a father. Both are acts of insolent and wanton violence. Of one son, not a Sarakatsanos, who publicly struck his father, the Sarakatsani said, 'He has the devil in him' (ἔχει τὸ διάβολο μέσα του), in a sense which was not intended as metaphorical. It was indeed the only way of explaining the youth's behaviour. To swear at a father at any time, but especially in public, shows the contempt of the son for his father. If he had been a good father with the moral authority of a good father, it is held that such an incident could scarcely have occurred. A son, it is pointed out, takes after his father particularly in his moral constitution, and thus both the outraged parent and the guilty son are dishonoured through the action of the son. To curse or strike a father is, also, a grave sin (ἁμαρτία), for it is an act which upsets a part of the absolute order in life instituted and sanctioned by God. The misfortunes of a person guilty of such acts are always considered to be punishments from God. [82f] [188]

The relationship of a father and a son in late adolescence or early manhood is one of delicate balance. The son continues to accept the authority of the father and to show him respect; but this acceptance by the son is now to a degree contingent on his father respecting the growing maturity of his son's social personality. Violence, whether it comes from father or son, destroys the moral basis of the relationship and the mutual esteem which ought to exist between them. During the last five or six years before the eldest son marries, there may be many differences of opinion between an ageing father and his young sons. That these very seldom occasion a show of public as distinct from private disrespect to a father, and almost never develop into quarrels with physical violence, is undoubtedly due to the consciousness of a responsibility felt by both father and son to the total family group, in which through common membership and common loyalties their interests are identified. [57f]

In chapter four I have already said something about the transfer of executive power from the father to his eldest son. It will be remembered that the eldest son, impatient to be recognized in the community as a family head, cannot be expected to wait beyond his thirtieth or thirty-first birthday before taking a wife, and that after the birth of his first child, he expects to take over control of the family's affairs. The sanction [59b] [593] [52f] [51]

596 for these arrangements² is public opinion. *The sanction*
 593 a man may be to hand over the reins to his son, he knows that he
 626 will lose less personal prestige by moving into retirement than
 558 by attempting to hold power against the conventions of
 customary usage. He is also aware that any temporizing over
 this problem will lead to the kind of friction with his son that is
 unlikely to remain private and may result in a further loss of
 prestige for the whole family.

596 There are two other circumstances which may help to per-
 593 suade a father to cede his position at the customary time.
 233 Grazing land in summer for a herd of three hundred sheep and
 461 goats represents a considerable area of mountainous country.
 886 The journey from the huts of the family near the village to the
 farthest limits of the summer grazing is very often a walk of
 two or three hours, climbing steeply the whole way along
 difficult rock-strewn paths generally no wider than a rabbit's
 track. Such a journey two or three times a week for a man in
 his early sixties, which is the age a father is likely to have reached
 when his own son approaches the age of marriage, is a severe
 physical strain. But if the family head is not physically able to
 see for himself the condition of the grass and the state of his
 animals, his shepherd sons cease to treat his instructions or
 criticisms with any seriousness, and in respect to animal
 management virtually arrange matters for themselves. From
 this point it is a short step to question the father's authority in
 other matters. Physical or mental feebleness of the father is
 invariably the explanation of a son assuming control of family
 affairs at an early age.

886 The second circumstance has to do with the relation of the
 212 family to the outside world. With few exceptions the shepherds
 178 who are today over sixty years of age are illiterate. Under
 596 modern conditions these men are at an obvious disadvantage in
 understanding the content of government agricultural regu-
 lations and in filling up the increasing number of printed
 forms. Unlike their more sophisticated and literate sons, men
 of this age group do not understand the ways of minor officials.
 "They don't know how to go about things in the offices" (δὲν
 ξέρουν τὰ γραφεῖα), their sons explain. In part, the prestige of
 letters is attributable to the idea that they are the necessary
 weapons for a successful resistance or adaption to bureaucratic

² i.e. the taking over of family authority by the son
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administration. It is easy to understand that if the head of the family must be constantly asking his young son to read, explain, and advise on all written documents, he finds it difficult to maintain his authority until his son has reached the customary age of marriage. Significantly, the sack in which the business papers and account books are kept has become in recent years a symbol of the authority of the head of family, who alone has the right to open it. 596
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In the majority of cases, however, these two circumstances, although they may cause difficulties, do not force or even allow a father to hand over executive control much earlier than custom demands. If, for example, a father of fifty-nine hands over the control of family affairs to a son of twenty-six, he will undoubtedly be considered a man of weak character even where it is known that he suffers some physical disability. He must, for reasons of personal and family prestige, attempt to assert and exercise his authority. Sons are not unaware of the father's position and difficulties. During the last years of a father's exercise of power a degree of rivalry between a father and his sons is always present, but because fathers and sons, together, accept responsibility for the prestige of the family, they guard most carefully against any public expression of their differences. 886
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After the eldest son assumes control, the father continues to do such work as he is capable of. It is generally a task of his own selection and the senior son is careful to avoid giving direct instructions of any kind to his father. There are always a few sick sheep or late lambs which need to be grazed close to the huts, and occasionally he will spend a day with one of the flocks to relieve a son. In some families with many sons, where there is no essential task for the old father to perform, he will create some activity to occupy his time. The old father of John Charisis daily saddles and exercises a favourite horse. When visitors ask where the old father is, his sons reply with affectionate but patronizing smiles that he is out with his horse again. The visitors join in the laughter at the old man's expense and the sons do not take offence, for this is a general attitude to old people in the community. They are respected if they have led honourable lives, yet in relation to present preoccupations they are unimportant. The old father always expresses his views 596
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- about current problems but, as with the opinions of women and children, they are gently ignored. Yet even after a father's retirement a son continues to owe filial respect to him as long as this does not interfere with his full control of the extended family's affairs. A father must give his consent to the arrangement of a daughter's or son's marriage if this is made after his retirement. And at the celebration of a wedding he always acts as the formal head of the family. Any exhibition of arrogance by a son who tries to deny his father the centre of the stage on this occasion is severely condemned. Vestiges of the relations of authority and respect, which previously bound father and son in the elementary family, always remain; but in his declining years an old man's relations with his son are more characteristically marked by their common concern for the grandchildren to whom the grandfather is devoted.

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- We must now retrace our steps to make some comment on the relation between mother and son after the boy has left school at the age of thirteen. It is noticeable that a boy during the last two years at school begins to resent his mother's acts of protective care and love. After he has left school this attempt to behave in a completely masculine manner becomes more evident. He no longer suffers his mother's caresses. If he returns from his herding duties cold and wet, he pointedly ignores the dry clothes which his solicitous mother puts ready for him. Particularly between the ages of thirteen and sixteen, he is given to outbursts of rudeness towards his mother and his sisters. By this abruptness to the women of his family he hopes to give a further demonstration of his growing manliness. Mothers are amused and also a little proud as they observe these antics of their young sons. They understand their feelings and approve of them.

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844
[827]
- From the time that a son becomes fully adult his attitude towards his mother becomes less strained and there is a recognition of his deep attachment to her. When Sarakatsani talk about their mothers, they very often mention the original physical connexion; for this appears to them to be an important element in the moral solidarity between mother and son. One cannot abandon an old mother because 'she brought me into

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the world' (μὲ ἐξέρε στὸ κόσμος). With the physical connexion⁵⁹³ between mother and son, goes a recognition of the overwhelming⁵⁹⁴ pain of childbirth, and the passive courage which is necessary to resist it. Women work until the last moment. Some Sarakatsani tell how their mothers were out gathering herbs or firewood when the pains began. They point out the tree or stone that marks the place of their birth. They tell how the mother assisted by a companion, or in some cases entirely alone, having cut the cord and buried the afterbirth, then loaded up the new child and the bundle of firewood and returned to the hut.

The attachment of the son to his mother draws strength from⁵⁹³ his own childhood memories and from the accepted qualities any Sarakatsan mother is presumed to possess. There is the long⁵⁹⁴ suckling period. He remembers how his mother was always the⁵⁹⁵ provider of food and unconditional love; how she made a phylactery and secured it under his shirt to protect him from the attacks of the Devil. He remembers her distracted care⁵⁹⁶ for him in sickness and her divination to find the evil eye that⁵⁹⁷ was the cause of it.

The status of a mother of married sons is considerable in the⁵⁹³ extended family. I remarked earlier that the wife/mother plays⁵⁹⁶ an expressive role. What she expresses is the integrity and solidarity of the group. The brothers explain their attachment to one another with reference to the fact that they were born from the same mother. The mother acts as the diplomat and peacemaker between the dissident wives. Despite the ambivalence⁵⁹⁷ of attitude between mother and daughter-in-law, wives work amicably enough under the instructions of their husband's mother. They do not work amicably under the wife of the eldest brother and it is noticeable that extended families, where the mother of the brothers is dead, do not survive long. In such cases there is lacking a social personality that symbolizes and mediates the mutual attachment of the various elementary families within the extended group. Thus, married sons in an extended family come once more to respect their mother's authority in her own particular sphere as mistress of the extended household. The senior brother who is head of the household punctiliously consults her about all decisions that affect the family, whether they are strictly concerned with her,

593 domestic affairs or not. Sitting for most of the day at the hearth
 596 with her various grandchildren around her, the mother be-
 888 comes the physical and moral centre of the extended family,
 while the father, if he is still alive, is now a genial nonentity.

* * *

593 Parenthood brings to a man or woman joy and pride, but
 858 also anxiety. It is often said, 'Children bring worries' (έχουν στενοχώριες τὰ παιδιά). The quality of this worry which besets Sarakatsan parents is nicely reflected in the literal meaning of στενοχώρια, a narrowness of space or insufficiency of room. It is both the desire to do more for children and the lack of means which prevents this, and the relative helplessness of a parent in the face of the various physical and spiritual dangers which surround a child.

593 Sons and daughters, for their part, recognize that 'bringing
 888 up a child has many troubles and cares', and this is an important element in the belief that a father or mother, even in extreme senility, cannot be repudiated. The obligation to support aged parents is absolutely binding on children. But just as the regard of a father for his children was conditional upon their conduct, so in his old age the affection and respect he receives from his children is qualified by their judgement of him as a good or bad parent. On the other hand, a mother's love is always unconditional: and equally so are the attitudes of care and devotion to her in the last years of her life. She toils without thought of self. A mother 'sacrifices herself for her children', it is often said. In return she has an absolute right [596] to be mistress of the extended family household of her married sons; and after the separation of the brothers she has a further right to the services of the wife of her youngest son.

593 Parents and children not only have categorical obligations
 828 towards each other but they are morally identified. The
 858 responsibility for the wrongdoing of a child is in part referred back to his parents. In general, evil children must have been born of evil parents and, vice versa, wicked parents beget wicked offspring. In illustration of this idea that children share the moral virtues and weaknesses of their parents, Sarakatsani explain that 'The apple will fall under the apple tree' (τὸ μῆλο

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ἀπὸ κἀτ' ἐπ' τῇ μηλιά θὰ πέσῃ). It is thought that God often ⁵⁹³ punishes a man in his children, a belief which finds expression ⁸²⁸ in another proverb, "The sins of parents torment the children" ⁸⁵⁸ (ἁμαρτίες γονέων παιδεύουν τέκνα).³ Clearly the inherent inequity of this idea is rationalized in the belief that the moral defects of parents pass down to their children. If misfortune falls on an innocent and blameless child, it is argued that in time the child would in any case have followed the evil example of its parents and thus merits the prophylactic wrath of God.

The relationship between a mother and her children takes its ⁵⁸³ general character from the close physical and psychical de- ⁸²⁸ pendence of the childhood years and the memory of this in later life. A mother is so closely identified with her child that even her thoughts may affect its welfare. When the nine-year-old son of Demetrios Carvounis went to Athens to sit a scholarship examination, success in which would have placed him in a school three hundred miles from his home, his mother in tears and distress admitted openly that she did not want him to go. People said that in the face of this attitude the child, however brilliant, could not possibly succeed. It follows that there is no defence against a mother's curse.

The intimacy of the relationship is antithetical to any very ⁵⁹³ strong element of authority. Whatever ability a mother ⁵⁷⁹ possesses to make a child of any age conform to her wishes, is the result of a response to her free and unquestioning love and acceptance. Unmotivated love (ἀγάπη) is the true basis of the bond between a woman and her children. Whereas the relationship of the father with his children is characterized, ideally at least, by respect (σεβασμός); but in this there is the hint of the external sanction of the father's power, and the child's fear of it. Both these attitudes of love and respect are represented to some degree in the relations of children towards either parent. But a Sarakatsanos would use the word ἀγάπη more readily in connexion with his father than he would σεβασμός towards his mother. Kin bound by ἀγάπη are in a relationship sanctioned by a moral sense of duty. In this sense the verb, ἀγαπῶ, in modern Greek, is opposed in some contexts to ἐρωτεύομαι which is used only to express the free unreasoning libido of sexual love.

³ Not a demotic proverb but often quoted by the Sarakatsani.

- 593 The close intimacy between a mother and her children finds a different expression according to the sex of the child. A mother with her daughters is on terms almost of camaraderie as together they tackle the heavy domestic responsibilities of their sex. Between mother and son, because of the opposition of their sexes, there is some abruptness, especially during those years when the son is trying compulsively to behave in a masculine manner. But their relationship is none the less close, unconditional acceptance of her son and his deeds by the mother, protective concern on the part of the son for his mother. To take in vain the name of a man's mother is to offer him the worst possible insult. The bond between mother and son is [562] indestructible. She gave him life; in him she fulfils herself and transcends the moral inferiority of her sex. Although a mother is more in the company of her daughters, it is the sons who are closest to her heart. They are her pride and the significant achievement of her life.

- 593 I have said that the mother plays a role expressive of the
152 solidarity of the family. A Sarakatsanos sometimes says that 'The mother is the heart of the family'. Any kind of breach in the physical unity of the family distracts and worries her. After the first few years of her marriage, a wife shows less eagerness to pay visits to the family of her birth. She begins to fret and agitate to return after only one or two days' absence from her home, particularly if she has not brought all her children with her. For the first days after a daughter's marriage or a son's departure on military service a mother is inconsolable. Squatting by the hearth and rocking back and forth on her haunches, she maintains a continuous low moaning broken only by bouts
593 of deep sobbing. It is the wife or mother who is the leading
764 mourner at the death of a husband, son, or daughter. For the
152 twenty-four hours which intervene between death and burial, she does not leave her position at the right of the head of the corpse. During this time she is the chief singer of dirges [5.33] (μυρολόγια) in which she recites the golden qualities of the dead man or woman. But for the most part, she expresses her grief in simple and terrifying screams of lamentation (σκούζει), while she and the other women beat their breasts and tear at their
593 hair and cheeks (μαδιώννται). For a son a mother remains in
765 full mourning for five years whereas a father does not continue

Zagori

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beyond the second year. Each morning at dawn, each evening 593
at dusk, during these long years she sings her dirges and 265
lamentations again. Even when the period of mourning is
completed, she will never again dance at a festival, or sing a
ballad, during the remaining years of her life.

If the role of the mother expresses the solidarity of the 593
family, its honour and integrity largely depend on her virtue. A 834
mother who is thought to have lost her virginity before 558
marriage or, afterwards, to have been guilty of adultery, or
even an apparent inclination towards it, infects her children
with the taint of her dishonour, and however closely these
children may conform to right ways of behaviour, they cannot
retrieve the reputation of their family.

Although the honour of a woman is so intimately connected 593
with the disciplining of her sexual activity as to be almost 597
synonymous with it, any lapse from social rectitude also affects 834
her honour; for it is argued that if she fails in the one respect,
she is very likely to fail in other and more critical situations
concerned with her sexual virtue. The wife of Costas Pistiolis
is a woman who cannot restrain her laughter. It is held against
her that 'she always jokes and never talks with seriousness'.
This is an attitude unbecoming to a married woman of modesty
with children and responsibilities, for it betrays a lack of self-
discipline. Her family is, in any case, poor and despised. She
ought to be conscious of so many worries that laughter should
be impossible for her. It is insulting to suggest to a young man
that he might consider marrying the daughter of this family.
The girl, Chrysanthé, is acknowledged to be modest, comely,
and hard-working. But it is pointed out that, although there
is no positive evidence of sexual misconduct on the part of the
mother, her uncontrolled and unwomanly behaviour makes the
possibility of this not unlikely. And despite the seeming virtue
of the girl Chrysanthé, the fact that she is the daughter of such
a woman leads a man to await with some confidence the time
when serious moral faults in her character will be discovered.
Thus, upon the honour of the mother depends the honour of
her children in a sense which logically precedes the mutual
responsibility which members of a family in their conduct bear
at all times for the reputation of the family. A brother can take
some action to cleanse the dishonour of a sister, either against

● 593 the sister herself or her seducer, but a son is unable to do
599 anything to wash away the stain of his mother's dishonour.

[834] The role of the father in the elementary family is concerned with leadership and representation of the group to the outside world. The management of the flock, the handling of money, and the arrangement of matches, fall within his sphere of activity and upon his successful manipulation of these affairs depend his own prestige and that of his family and its descendants. For these reasons a father must be an 'able' protector' (εὖνός προστατης). He must at least be able to provide his

[558] family with food, clothing, and shelter. A man who fails in this duty forfeits any respect in the eyes of the community; he is heedless of his obligations, depraved, lost (χαμένος). But to be accepted as an 'able protector' demands more than this. A man must be a skillful shepherd and a shrewd bargainer, possess friends in the right places, and be of sufficient wealth to sustain honourably his family responsibilities. Above all, he requires the quality of manliness (ἀνδρισύμης), to guard the honour of the family from rape or insult, and by his general behaviour in public to uphold the prestige of the group.

593 The father's duty of protection is balanced by his right to a position of authority. This is legitimate by reason of social convention, and is sanctioned by public opinion and in the early years by the simple fact of power. Children acknowledge the father's authority by their attitude of careful respect. And from this position the father is able to discipline them into accepting important social values, and to co-ordinate their various activities in the family's labour force. But the attitude of respect towards a father also prevents any precocious assertion of authority by a son which would damage his father's reputation, and place father and son in open competition.

[471] The fact that all economic resources are owned corporately by family groups presents a problem for the method of succession to wealth and status in the community, a problem which inevitably causes difficulties between members of proximate generations in the same family. We have seen that by the time a son is approaching the age of thirty less deference

* I translate εὖνός as able or capable, but it also indicates 'One who suffices, one who is able to provide', specific meanings which are significant in the present context.

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is shown to a father in private, but that public disrespect is ⁵⁹³ carefully avoided. Friction between father and son is lessened by the definition in customary usage, within narrow limits, of the age at which a son may expect to marry and hold executive authority. In the case of an unmarried daughter, on the other hand, the authority of a father is always more complete since a daughter by reason both of sex and generation is subordinate even to a father of advanced years.

We have already remarked how a father imposes scarcely any ⁵⁹³ discipline on a child who is less than four years of age. It is ⁸⁶¹ difficult to describe the confusion and noise created by young ⁸⁵⁸ children in a Sarakatsan hut. If a father is asked why he bears this with such patience, and would not a little discipline, even perhaps an occasional beating, benefit the child, he generally replies that the child has no developed sense of judgement to distinguish between right and wrong, and that to beat a child of this age will only destroy his love for his father, with the unhappy consequence that a son may not treat his father with consideration in his old age.

After the age of four, whatever his fears as to his treatment in ⁵⁹³ later life, a father's love for his child inevitably becomes in- ⁸⁶⁷ creasingly conditional upon the child's behaviour; for it is the ⁸⁵⁸ duty of the father to guide, by his approval and disapproval, the child's first attempts to represent his family in the outside world. And it may be suggested that the love of a four-year-old Sarakatsan child for his father, which makes an immediate impression on the observer, on the one hand is related to the period of extreme permissiveness in the child's early years, and on the other is a lever by which early steps in its moral education are in part accomplished. According to its age and sex, a child must assimilate certain lessons of conventional politeness, show a constant loyalty to his family, and display a proud and combative front before unrelated children of his own sex and age. Already at this early age the importance of pride and ⁵⁷⁷ prestige weighs upon the small boy or girl. Yet these values of personal and family prestige, which it is the duty of the father to foster and approve in his son or daughter, foreshadow his own abdication from power at some future time.

From the moment that a son is subjected to the direct ⁸⁷³ authority of his father after he leaves school, a strong element of

- 593 contingency and reciprocity enters into the relationship. A son must give his father respect, be an efficient worker, and above all else show that he is a courageous protagonist of his family. The love and esteem of the father depend on his performance in these matters. By the time a son has returned from his military service, the conditional element in the relationship is increasingly on the side of the son, who avoids showing public disrespect to his father and continues to accept his authority on the understanding that the father, for his
- [888] part, respects his son's maturing social personality. After the retirement of the father, the sons in the extended family are under an absolute obligation to care for the old man, but the degree of their concern for his comfort may vary according to the past history of their relations. The conditional character of the affection of the father for a daughter is even more pronounced. If the girl's reputation for virtue remains unblemished, she receives his favour; if it does not, she may suffer the ultimate sanction of death at the hands of her own father. In turn,
- 593 584 the attitude of a married daughter to her father is contingent on whether he has given her to a good husband of an honourable
- [578] family. The daughter of a rich and powerful family, forced against her will to marry her second cousin, swore to her father as she left her home that she would never set foot in it again. Such a case of a complete breach of trust and mutual esteem between father and daughter is rare; but there are also women who harbour resentment against their fathers because, as they allege, they were given to indifferent husbands in order to avoid the payment of a substantial dowry.

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- 593 The idea of 'one blood' which they share in their common
- [P27] filiation to the same parents is the value that underlies the impressive solidarity of siblings in the elementary family and their almost complete identification of interests. In the eyes of outsiders siblings are morally identified. Whatever, for good or ill, is suffered or achieved by one sibling is held to affect the other siblings to an almost equivalent degree. An insult to any member of the group is felt with the same resentment by all the
- [627] brothers and sisters. If the brothers are adult, the Sarakatsani believe that an unmarried brother is the right and appropriate person to redress the wrongs of rape and homicide.

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person to redress the wrongs of rape and homicide. The solidarity of siblings is also passive, in the sense that the loss of prestige suffered by an individual on account of his evil or dishonourable acts equally affects his siblings. Therefore, the individual is responsible to his brothers and sisters for whatever he says or does. Only in the context of a vengeance killing do siblings generally escape the liabilities of passive solidarity; for the brother of a homicide is not generally considered to be a legitimate surrogate as an object of vengeance for the victim's family.

The emotional identification of siblings has its origin in the common experiences of early childhood. As children they sleep under the same blanket and eat from the same bowl. Older siblings look after the younger ones and protect them from the bullying of other children. There is an unthinking trust and loyalty. It is rarely possible to persuade an unmarried sibling to pass even a mildly adverse comment about a brother or sister. Usually personal secrets are not entrusted to anybody but a sibling of the same sex. Sisters discuss their fears and hopes of marriage, a subject which it would be shameful to mention even to their mother. Brothers share each other's anxieties about personal animosities and imagined insults.

The sympathy and emotional identification of sisters emerge with poignancy on the day of a girl's marriage. The unmarried sisters whom the bride leaves behind display a grief which in its public aspect is certainly conventionally expected, but for some days after the wedding they seem even within the privacy of the family hut to be stunned by the loss of their sister's accustomed presence. Sisters sense the dread and apprehension which the bride herself feels when she leaves the protective circle of her family to be given into the care of strangers. The violent shock of the sexual assault is also in their thoughts.

Unmarried brothers work together in service to the family flock. They are conscious that the physical survival of the family as well as its prestige depend in the last resort on the animals. This common dependence and service to the flock is another ground for their close identification. They do not work (as is the case in the co-operation of cousins or married brothers with separate households) with one eye on their partner to make sure that he is not shirking his share of the work. The mutual

- 573 identification of brothers tolerates some variation in individual skill, strength, and energy, and a man does not complain although it may be clear that he contributes more to the total effort than his brother. For if in this fellowship my brother is as myself, a strict sense of calculation and reciprocity is out of place. Brothers practise a simple communism in respect of the small amounts of pocket-money which they receive from a father or elder brother. If a brother wants a shilling so that he can go to the coffee-shop, another brother will at once give it to him without question, or thought of repayment. Brothers [547] borrow goat-hair capes, shepherds' crooks, water-bottles and articles of clothing indiscriminately from one another without asking permission and without causing offence.
- [426] But it will not be imagined that the relations of brothers and 593 sisters always proceed smoothly according to the preferred 554 pattern of solidarity based on mutual identification, under- 578 standing, and support. Precisely because siblings are conceived by one another and by outsiders as occupying in many respects similar status roles, their performances may be compared and evaluated, and the resulting rivalry may lead to envy, and at a further remove, to open enmity. The danger of such competition to the solidarity of the family is particularly acute in a community where social relations outside the family are largely regulated by the struggle for prestige. If a brother sees the possibility of winning the applause of outsiders, although it may be at his brother's expense, he may be very tempted to take the opportunity. The danger is greatest in situations where individual skills or qualities, for instance abilities as a shepherd or as a dancer, the proof of courage or the possession of a fine physique, may become the basis for judging differences between brothers. And outsiders delight in making and voicing such judgements because they appreciate the strains they may cause. In other situations, there may be a desire to escape the effects of public disapproval for the action of a sibling even though this involves disloyalty. 'Hang my brother, I am too busy' (κρεμάστε τὸν ἀδερφὸ μου, ἐγὼ δὲν ἀδεύζω) is a proverb which expresses this idea with a certain asstringency.
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The effective sanction against such behaviour is simply the knowledge that while a quarrel between brothers which is not known and talked about outside the family generally allows

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some hope of reconciliation, a quarrel that follows on the public humiliation of a brother very often leads to a permanent estrangement. Such an estrangement seriously affects the prestige of all the members of the family and destroys the solidarity of a group on which unmarried brothers and, in the early years of marriage, married brothers are almost wholly dependent.

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But rivalry between brothers is also inhibited in two other ways; by the dogma of the equality of siblings of the same sex; and by the fiction of the specialization of technical roles.

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It is a truism that equals are rivals. Rivalry, here, is an attempt to upset the pattern of equality which then provokes in others reciprocal attempts to reassert once more the original relation of equality. However, in so far as there exists a precise equality in rights and duties between siblings of the same sex, and to the extent that other members of the family refuse to discriminate between brothers or sisters, the possibility of disruptive rivalry is checked. All unmarried siblings of the same sex have exactly equivalent rights and duties. Brothers are equally committed to the duties of vengeance in the defence of family honour; they are similarly entitled to an exactly equal patrimony. Sisters have the same rights to adequate dowries with which honourable marriages may be arranged for them. In lesser matters, too, the equality of brothers implies the notion of equal shares. A ten-year-old boy returning home from a cherry-picking expedition with bulging pockets at once spread out his loot and divided the fruit with scrupulous care between his two younger brothers, himself, and a sister. Lacking a single cherry to make four equivalent heaps, he gave the fractionally smaller portion to the sister.

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It is significant that a parent will never admit to liking one of his children in preference to another. He will agree that, of course, sons are more important than daughters, but he is quick to add that they are all his children and that to show any discrimination would be sinful. Practice confirms this assertion. One child is often clearly more gifted or attractive than another, yet parents take great care to give the same affection to all their children. Adult Sarakatsani act with a conscious self-discipline in these matters since they are well aware of the

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593 dangerous consequences of envy (ζήλεια). 'There is not enough
858 room in the pen for the envious sheep' (τὸ ζηλιάριχο ἀρνὶ μὲς
τὸ μαντρί δὲ χωράει), it is said.

593 A person's position in the birth order of the sibling group
582 is part of his fate; therefore it is considered right that siblings of
the same sex should marry strictly in order of seniority. There
are no exceptions to this rule. It removes from the sphere of
competition a matter which, in the case of brothers, is intimately
connected with status and prestige. Similarly, it is normally the
593 eldest brother who becomes head of the family after the
578 retirement of the father. Thus, the question of succession to this
position does not provoke rivalry between brothers. Only
rarely does a younger brother take the position of leadership in
preference to a senior brother who may be temperamentally
unsuited to the position of responsibility. But, in general,
authority is an element foreign to the relations of siblings of the
same sex. The position of family head, when it is held by a
brother, is treated as merely one of a number of specialized
tasks which different brothers must undertake. Important
decisions are, in fact, arrived at through a consensus of opinion.

593 Rivalry between brothers is also discouraged by the special-
578 ization of technical roles.⁶ Shepherding in the Zagori country
461 demands skill, resource and, sometimes, daring. His success or
463 failure in this activity considerably affects the prestige of the
Sarakatsanos. But within the family the fiction is maintained
with considerable vehemence that each brother is a specialist
at his own task. In the family of Theodoros it is said that
Theodoros, the head of the family, has a certain ability as an
efficient negotiator with the outside world; Demetrios is a
specialist cheese-maker and muleteer; only Eleutherios knows
certain high places in the winter pastures where the sterile
ewes will thrive and recover their fertility; Vasili is a specialist
in fattening up the lambs and young sheep; and Aristoteles is
said to have some intuitive facility for the management of the
milking ewes. It is a fact, however, that all the brothers are
quite capable of undertaking any task of animal husbandry

⁶ An early statement of the idea that competitive pressures are eased by qualitative differentiation of roles is perhaps to be found in E. Durkheim, *The Division of Labour in Society*, translated by Simpson, Glencoe Illinois, 1949, p. 266.

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and that this does occur in various emergencies without any apparent loss of efficiency. But the important point is that the belief is firmly held that each is better than anybody else in his own department; and for the well-being of the family, each department is essential. On the other hand, where brothers are found alongside one another in the performance of the same task, rivalry is almost always present. If brothers are milking a flock of ewes there is invariably an argument about who has drawn off the most milk. Similarly, at the spring shearing the speed and efficiency of the cutting is a matter for competition and debate. Such rivalry is generally acted out as a form of play, yet it causes sufficient sullenness and passing bad-temper to indicate the importance of the differentiation of technical roles which has been described.

Although the Sarakatsani insist upon the mutual devotion of brothers they recognize that brothers do sometimes quarrel seriously. Such a development strikes at the unity of the family and threatens the horror of fratricide. 'When two brothers quarrel, two madmen rejoice' (Δυὸ ἀδέρφια μέλλουσιν καὶ δυὸ τρεῖς χαίρουν), as a proverb expresses it. But the consequences of a serious quarrel between brothers partly depend on the stage of development reached by the family. Quarrels between adolescent brothers are quickly extinguished by the father's authority, and in differences between unmarried but adult brothers the pressure of elder brothers and parents is generally sufficient to bring the contestants to reason. It is possible for an adult unmarried son to claim his share of the sheep and leave the family, but one man and a hundred sheep do not, in this community, form a viable economic and domestic unit. Even a married pair do not. To some degree, brothers are dependent on one another for many years, often, indeed, until their own sons are in late adolescence. It is said that if brothers quarrel today, tomorrow they will be talking again because, 'The one has need of the other'. 'Blood' (αἷμα), and 'necessity' (ἀνάγκη), provide the motivation and the sanction for fraternal solidarity.

Quarrels between married brothers with separate households are more likely to lead to a break in relations, particularly if some of their children have finished school. The factor of importance, then, is whether the quarrel took place in public

- 593 with mutual insult. If it did, it is very likely to end all forms of
598 co-operation. But if the parents of the brothers are still alive, even a quarrel of these dimensions may sometimes be healed.

593 The ties between unmarried sisters are particularly close. If dishonour attaches to one sister, it infects them all. Together, passively and modestly, they await with anxiety for some stranger to ask for their hand, an event which is both dreaded and desired. Unlike the brothers who separate to carry out their different work, the sisters are constantly in one another's company and are often working together at the same task. Their relationship differs from that of brothers in the absence of any considerable rivalry. While brothers stand in the public gaze, sisters are closeted within the privacy of domestic life.

[539] The reputation of a girl does not depend upon positive self-assertion, but rather on the passive preservation of her virginal condition. She succeeds in this through the closest possible association with her sisters; their physical inseparability is her chief defence against the slander of enemies. Differences in physical beauty may cause some jealousy but these are facts which cannot be altered and, since sisters in any case marry strictly in order of seniority, competition to snare a husband does not exist. The absence of competitive attitudes between sisters means that any elaborate fiction of differentiated roles is unnecessary, and sisters work happily and amicably at the same task without any serious comparison of productivity or skill.*

[541] The ties between brother and sister are also close. Here again, from the viewpoint of the outsider, brothers and sisters are identified as children of the same parents; the short-comings of a sister reflect upon the brother, and vice versa. But the difference of sex introduces into the relationship an important element of complementarity. The brother is the guardian of his sister from rape and insult and he must avenge any violation of her person or character. If his father has retired, it is the duty of the eldest brother, with his father's consent and guidance, to arrange for his sister an honourable marriage. And the youngest brother in a sibling group must remain unmarried until all the

sisters have been settled.

* Young sisters or cousins sometimes compete to see who can spin more quickly than the other. And they mark a cross on the forehead of the loser with a piece of charcoal. But these are games played in an atmosphere of great hilarity and goodwill.

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sisters have been settled. On the other hand, the honour of the family which affects so intimately the prestige of the brothers, is largely in the keeping of the sister. Her honour is their honour. Later, through her marriage, she provides her brother with new affinal relationships of co-operation; he, in turn, is able to influence her husband to treat her well. Brother and sister are interdependent.

Since the female sex is subordinate to the male sex, the unmarried sister is always under the authority of her brothers. There are no conventional forms of respect between brother and sister but the latter obeys the instructions of an older or adult brother without debate. A brother watches over his sister's conduct and criticizes her freely when he thinks her public behaviour is unseemly. This disciplinary care begins at an early age. Ten-year-old Nausicaa was discovered one day by her young brother Charilaos, who is only six years old, when she was performing for my benefit a very comic imitation of how old men dance at weddings. Pink with the shame of it and with tears streaming down his face, he vainly tried to stop her mimicry.

After puberty, a certain formality enters into the relationship. Physical contact is avoided and there is little teasing. Conversation about family interests is easy and natural, but is more restrained in regard to personal matters. This is, no doubt, a conventional attitude which helps to maintain the neutral character of a relationship which exists between members of opposite sexes. But it seems also to be not inconsistent with the gravity of the categorical obligations which bind so closely a brother with his sister.

4. INTERRELATIONS

In all societies, the biological differentiae of sex and age provide criteria for the ordering of social relations in the family, although the emphasis on each factor and their mode of combination is peculiar to the particular society.

As one might expect, difference in age or generation is an equivocal criterion for the ordering of family roles in a community where the importance of competitive values is so pronounced. Persons of different sex have complementary functions and they do not compete. Naturally, difference of

- 593 age and generation provides a basis for the authority of the parents during the childhood and adolescence of their sons and daughters, an authority which is sanctioned both by social convention and the simple fact of power. But as the children of a family approach adult status, we have seen that parental authority becomes less assured, especially in father-son relations where the son's continued acceptance of his father's authority becomes increasingly conditional upon the father's tact in his attitude towards his son; and in the relationship between the mother and her adolescent son, where differences of sex and generation do not reinforce one another as is the case in the relationship between father and daughter.

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885 The diminished authority of the father is the inevitable outcome of his sons' assumption of adult status which, in this community, is incompatible with subordination. Marriage completes the process by which a son asserts his individuality and after the establishment of his own family, his categorical obligations are centred in his family of marriage and not in his family of origin.

593
562
462 On the other hand, difference of sex provides the basis for a radical separation of male and female roles in the family, which is not confined to a clearly marked division of labour, but involves, also, more general sex-linked values which influence behaviour and attitudes. The activity of female roles is essentially confined to the house and they require passive, co-operative, and self-disciplined attitudes. Masculine roles are concerned with the management of the flocks and the representation of the family in the community. Since this wider participation is realized in terms of strife and rivalry, male roles demand extreme self-assertion in situations outside the family. Male and female spheres of action are mutually exclusive but they are also complementary. We have noted the complementary solidarity and mutual dependence which exist in the relationships between husband/father and wife/mother, father and daughter, mother and son, brother and sister. Further, the female sex is subordinate to the male sex. In adult relationships involving persons of opposite sex, the female owes obedience, the male protection to the other person. Only in the case of the relation between a mother and her adult married son does a woman in some degree escape the dominion of the male.

INTERRELATIONS

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Not only are the various relationships between roles of opposite sex based upon a complementarity of function, but the whole complex of relationships between the two parents and the children of both sexes is similarly structured. No doubt the same statement might be made about parental roles in many societies. This is a matter of degree. But I believe that the very clear definition of the complementarity of the parental roles in the Sarakatsan family is related to two significant features of this community. 593
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The first of these features is the relative isolation of the members of an elementary family from their collateral kin and the opposition of the family to all other unrelated families. A consequence of this is that almost all the individual's categorical obligations fall within the one small group; where also he finds the only source of unconditional security and support to which he is able to turn. Hence the relations between the mother and the other members of the Sarakatsan family group, of whose solidarity she is the material and symbolic focus, possess a particular intensity and unconditional quality. I have illustrated a number of ways in which the mother represents the solidarity of the family and the security to be found within its circle; in the valuation of the physiological connexion between mother and child; in the ideal of the mother as the unselfish and self-sacrificing giver of protective care. We have remarked the absence of strong authority in a relationship of intimacy, and the sexual virtue of the mother as the symbol of the family's honour and moral solidarity.

The second characteristic feature of the community that concerns the parental roles is the importance of prestige values. In the first four years such mild discipline as the child suffers originates from the mother; the father and all other members of the family are loving and indulgent. After the age of four the father's authority is gradually established and the very strong affection of the child for the father which grew up during the first four years of permissive behaviour is used by the father to encourage the child to more adult ways of behaviour and to a sense of responsibility to the family group. The mother is now the more permissive of the two parents. As we saw in the case of young Lambrine, however harsh and angry the father becomes the mother remains compassionate and unchanged. Thus after 593
597
867
[855]

593 the child's first four years there is virtually a reversal of roles
 579 between mother and father. And this occurs precisely at the
 867 point in time when the child begins to play a representative
 [626] role outside the family. The behaviour of the child now becomes
 a legitimate object for criticism by outsiders and the reputation
 of the whole group is at stake. Therefore the authority of the
 leader of the family is invoked to sanction the correct pattern
 of behaviour; pride, loyalty, and fearlessness in a boy, sexual
 modesty and obedience in a girl. But the father achieves this
 purpose more often by the withdrawal of his affection and the
 encouragement of feelings of shame, than by direct physical
 punishment.

593 During the period of adolescence (13-21 years of age
 882 approximately) the son or daughter must show a careful respect
 to the father and there is less familiarity. In the case of a
 daughter this is related to her sexual maturity and the need to
 discipline her actions; in the case of the son it prevents his
 premature self-assertion and protects the prestige of the father
 against the ridicule of outsiders. On the other hand, while a
 son's relations with his father are stable at this time, he goes
 through a period of some abruptness towards his mother in his
 efforts to prove his manliness.

593 As a son reaches the threshold of full manhood (23 years of
 884 age) the importance of his prestige ranking within the 'pallikari'
 [554] age group becomes incompatible with undue deference to any
 [561] senior person, even his father. This is reflected by an argu-
 mentative attitude in the private life of the family circle, and
 publicly by a measure of avoidance which makes it possible for
 a son not to show disrespect to his father without, however,
 showing positive deference. But this period of latent competition
 with the father, also, sees the son renewing a firm attachment
 to his mother.

593 After his retirement the opinion of the father counts for little
 888 except in questions concerning the marriages of his children and
 as a commentator on morality. Yet by identifying himself with
 his sons and daughters through an intense interest in his
 grandchildren he finds consolation.

593 On the other hand, the status of the mother (so long as she
 554 is not physically or mentally feeble) increases with age. As a
 888 mother of honourably married sons and daughters she has

INTERRELATIONS

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transcended the inferiority of her sex and becomes the focus of her sons' co-operation within the extended family, or later in a group of autonomous households. Only she is able successfully to mediate and contain the conflicting loyalties of married brothers.

It is clear that the various difficulties between parents and children are all related in some degree to the necessary involvement of the individual and his family in the community's system of prestige values. When the child begins to play a representative role outside the family the father has to educate and discipline it in a way that puts a considerable strain on a small boy or girl. An adolescent son in adopting the prescribed attitudes of manliness becomes abrupt to his mother. The adult 'pallikari' is particularly sensitive to his public reputation for honour and self-assertion, and it is this that bedevils his relations with his father. Thus the peculiarly clear-cut complementarity of the parental roles has to do with the fact that when the relation of a child (particularly a son) to one of his parents is strained, the relation to the other parent is one of positive attachment and identification.

In this complex of family roles and relationships the ties between parents and children represent the core of the system. The categorical obligations of parents towards their children are the values underlying the isolation of the family. They are values which in the popular mind are supported by their reference to a divine model, to the unmotivated love of God, to the patient devotion of the Mother of Christ. But sons and daughters must also be educated to conformity with the system of values of the wider community which makes demands even on small children; requires self-discipline and self-assertion in youths; and places young men and their fathers in competitive opposition while the former advance to adult status and independence. Throughout this process of development the moral solidarity of the family must remain unbroken. And this, in effect, is the achievement of the complementary structure of the two parental roles and their reciprocals.

It seems that there are three important contexts in which the stability of family relations may be threatened by conflict from within. In the first case, the integrity and solidarity of the family is destroyed when a female member willingly

- 593 compromises her sexual honour. Secondly, there is the danger
578 of competitive differences between a father who has not yet
retired and his adult but unmarried sons. Thirdly, the rivalry
inherent in the relations of brothers is a continuing threat to
the solidarity of the family. It grows in inverse proportion to
the degree of authority which the father is able to exert, and to
the extent that brothers are dependent on one another for
co-operative assistance. In each of these instances, we have
already reviewed particular sanctions and institutionalized
arrangements which generally help to prevent altogether, or to
keep within tolerable limits, these types of disruptive behaviour.
593 But in each of these instances, there is also the positive sanction
571 of the mutual identification of interests and the responsibility
578 of all members of the family for the actions of other members,
attitudes which follow from a common opposition to all those
persons who are not members of the family. And it is to the
consideration of the solidarity of corporate family groups, which
is a consequence of their mutual hostility, that we turn in the
following pages.

204 THE FAMILY AS A CORPORATE GROUP

Moreover, the produce of the flock is sold to persons outside the community. No Sarakatsanos who remains a member of the community acts as a trader or shopkeeper. Indeed, unrelated families are only dependent on one another in two significant ways, for marriage partners and social reputation. In both instances this form of dependence helps to breed hostility and suspicion, which is all the more intense since there are no other forms of social or economic co-operation. Perhaps, too, the dispersed character of the community, and the fact that for most of the time shepherds are bound to the care of their animals, allow attitudes of intense hostility without giving too frequent opportunities for its physical expression.

571 The hostility that exists between unrelated families is en-
609 couraged by the belief that their interests are mutually destruc-
578 tive. There is the story that after he had created the other
P29 countries, God had a few stones and rocks left in his sack. He
[973] threw these over his shoulder and they became the land of
Greece. It is believed that there are not enough resources and
wealth to satisfy the needs of everybody, and that therefore the
success and prosperity of other families is necessarily a threat to
the very existence of one's own. It follows that a man must
rejoice when another suffers misfortune and 'falls in the mud'
(πέφτει στη λάσπη). For the Sarakatsani, these beliefs have an
immediate relevance. If the village President allots one man an
area of good summer grass, another must receive an area of in-
different grazing. Again, in the winter, pasture is scarce, and
every family that has successfully negotiated for its requirements
of winter grass leaves less for the others. Whether it is a question
of material assets or social prestige the Sarakatsani see life as
a kind of seesaw. If one family goes up in the world the others
must necessarily come down.

571 The hostility between unrelated families is intimately related
609 to the nature of rights and obligations inside the elementary
593 family. These have a diffuse character; that is to say, a man is
578 obliged to support his brothers, sisters, parents, or children in
every situation and circumstance unless this assistance con-
flicts with other and higher obligations. But not only do all a
man's significant interests fall within the limits of the family,
but in most contexts loyalty to the family is the supreme social
value. Moreover, there is no social group in this community

HOSTILITY BETWEEN UNRELATED FAMILIES 205

which through common membership can commit him to any duty towards persons with whom he is not related by kinship or marriage. Indeed, any relationship with an unrelated person would be regarded by other members of the family as a form of betrayal. For a man's energies and affections belong to his family and his relatives, and to nobody else. This explains why personal friendship with an unrelated person, based simply on liking and sympathy, is impossible. There is devoted friendship between cousins, but even here we have seen that such an association is immediately sacrificed if any friction develops between the two families. The solidarity of the family resides in its exclusiveness and opposition to those who do not belong. And any relationship between one of its members and an outsider, which is not shared by the others, necessarily weakens it.

The mutual distrust of unrelated families emerges very clearly on those rare occasions when for some specific purpose they are forced into co-operation. During the summer a hut is established high in the mountains above the village so that the various shepherds who have sold their milk to a particular merchant are able to deliver it twice a day to his agents who at once turn it into cheese. Towards the end of July these operations come to an end, and it is then the responsibility of those selling their milk to the merchant to carry down to the village on their mules the machinery, utensils, and the mass of accumulated cheeses. The cheese-maker and his assistant calculate from their books the total quantity of milk which each family has delivered during the whole summer, and in proportion to these quantities each family is allotted so many mule-loads of cheeses and equipment, which it is their duty to transport as far as the village. But the assessment of these loads by the cheese-maker is not accepted without many amendments and bitter wrangling. The cream separator for instance is a heavy, awkward thing to load on a mule. Who is to say what the equivalent in cheeses or smaller pieces of equipment may be? Each family is determined not to be outmanoeuvred by the others into performing any service which can possibly be avoided, and no trust is placed by anybody in the impartiality of the cheese-maker. It sometimes happens that the family which has sold the largest quantity of milk has only one mule, while another group with only a small flock possesses three or four pack

SPIRITUAL KINSHIP

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twofold relationship of godfather-godchild and spiritual parent-natural parent. 608
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The sacrament of Baptism, which is immediately followed in the Eastern rite by the sacrament of Holy Chrism or Confirmation, is the spiritual foundation of these social relationships. In the two sacraments the Holy Spirit purifies and recreates the nature of the child, uniting it to the body of Christ and bestowing Spirit upon it. The rite of Baptism marks the acceptance of a soul into the Church, it makes possible the remission of future sins and it releases the individual from the weight of original sin. In the rite of Holy Chrism the Holy Spirit descends upon the person of the newly-baptized. In a simple fashion these things are well understood by the Sarakatsani. If a child dies unbaptized its soul 'goes into the air and is lost'. They think that men require the grace which is initially conferred by the Holy Spirit through these sacraments both to realize the inherent nobility of their manhood (identifying a condition of honour with a state of grace), and for the more pragmatic reason that if the barrier of sin between a man and God is too considerable he will not be able to protect his family against the many forms of catastrophe which threaten it. 851
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[799]

In these critical sacraments the child needs a spiritual guardian to stand and answer for him. Since they are related to the child through the act of generation the natural parents are unable to assume this role and, perhaps, for the same reason, they are not present at the ceremony. The godfather (vouvos) receives the child from a member of the family at the door of the church. The service begins with an exorcism of the Devil and the evil spirits of error, wickedness, idolatry, covetousness, lying, and uncleanness, in which the godfather indicates the child's renunciation of Evil, blowing and spitting three times to effect this rejection. The rite of Baptism then begins. The water is blessed in a long prayer and the priest intercedes that the person may put off the old man which is corrupt through deceitful lusts and put on the new man after the image of Him that made him, that he may eventually be a partaker in His resurrection. Olive oil is blessed, the surface of the water is signed with it and the child is anointed with the oil of gladness in the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. The priest then baptizes the child by a threefold total immersion. The 851
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[593] ●
[778]
[783]

577 and the strength that is drawn from them. The word also describes a certain ruthless ability in any form of endeavour. Here again we see the 'efficient' aspect of manliness. But *παρβάρτος* is in no sense a moral term, and in other contexts it may describe the dishonourable conduct of a man who rapes a woman or bullies weaker men. The manliness that is related to honour requires this physical basis, yet it must discipline animal strength and passions to its own ideal ends.

577 The quality required of women in relation to honour is 831 shame (*ντροπή*), particularly sexual shame. Subjectively the

834 woman's sexual shame is not simply a fear of external sanctions; 562 it is an instinctive revulsion from sexual activity, an attempt

in dress, movement, and attitude, to disguise the fact that she possesses the physical attributes of her sex. Maidens must be virgins, and even married women must remain virginal in thought and expression. But honour is always something imputed by others. In these matters the individual woman can never retreat within her own conscience. Her honour depends upon the reputation which the community is willing to concede, not upon the evidence of facts in any case difficult to determine. Therefore she protects her honour most effectively by conforming in every outward aspect of her deportment to a code of sexual shame. The woman who succeeds in this is *τίμια* and *τιμημένη*, honourable and honoured; but, if she fails, she is *ἀδιάντροπη*, shameless, and *σεύλλα*, a bitch, a woman without restraint, whose behaviour is compounded of the reflexes of her animal instincts. She becomes 'used' (*μεταχειρισμένη*), if only on the lips of men, and therefore 'lost' (*χαμένη*).

577 The sexual shame of women is no doubt related to the ambi-
562 valent attitude of the Sarakatsani towards sexual relations
593 even in marriage. But it is also consistent with the importance
831 of legitimacy as the essential qualification for membership in
684 the family group. The sexual, reproductive, and working capacities of women belong exclusively to their families; and there is no more certain way of defiling the honour of another family than by seducing one of its women, particularly since mixed attitudes of awe and shame surround the sexual act and the reproductive life process. There is double cause for shame. Something of intimate spiritual value is rifled and desecrated by a stranger while at the same time the moral

HONOUR

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blame for this loss is generally ascribed by the community to the sensuality of the woman and, by extension, to the moral weakness of her kinsmen.

This kind of shame is a quality that is thought to descend in the female line from mother to daughter, but its loss always implicates the honour of the men of the family, reflecting on the manliness of the husband, and, more generally, on the whole social personality of brothers and, particularly, sons. The woman is soiled, λερωμένη, and blackened, μουντζουρωμένη; and she marks with her dishonour all those who are close to her through kinship or marriage. Essentially, sexual shame is felt to be an inborn moral characteristic, part of a woman's personality. Conventional deportment requires training of course; but however thorough her education the true character of a naturally shameless woman is certain to emerge, for fundamentally sexual shame is a question of heredity. If it becomes known that a young maiden has been struck by her father or brother because of some immodesty, people laugh and ask rhetorically what good do they imagine this will do since the fault proceeds from her mother.

Clearly manliness and shame are complementary qualities in relation to honour. The manliness of the men in any family protects the sexual honour of its women from external insult or outrage. The women must have shame if the manliness of the men is not to be dishonoured. We saw in an earlier chapter how the dishonour of a mother cannot be remedied by the sons. It is true that when a man kills a daughter who has lost her honour he wins the grudging respect of the community; yet, at the same time, the dishonour of the family is never entirely forgotten. Even when the rape of a sister has been avenged, a measure of dishonour remains, the dishonour of the girl's failure to preserve her virginity. The reputation for manliness of the men of the family is a deterrent against external outrage, but it cannot entirely repair the damage if such an attack against its women proves successful. It is, then, not surprising that the worst insult that can be aimed at a man is to use the name of his sister, or mother, in an unpleasant sexual context.

Honour considered as the possession by men and women of these qualities is the attempt to relate existence to certain

Zagori

THE VALUES OF PRESTIGE

888 After a man retires from the active arrangement of affairs,
 156 which he hands over to his eldest son, he is referred to as the
 577 'old man'. He is now expected to become a man who is digni-
 • [597] fied but quiet (ἥσυχος). He ought to be quiet in the very
 literal sense that he does not attempt to cross the authority of
 his son when the latter makes a decision or issues an order.
 Quarrels between father and son detract from the dignity and
 prestige of both individuals. But the old man ought also to
 acquire an inward quietness of spirit, which follows from his
 release from the worries and cares of leadership and the know-
 ledge that he has reached old age with his reputation for honour
 untouched. For this reason he ought no longer to possess a
 sensitive self-regard. For good, or ill, the record of his life will
 have established his social reputation. Now he ought only to
 be provoked by extreme insults. Such insults will in any case be
 judged as wanton and dishonourable, and will rebound on
 the reputations of those who level them. Normally there is no
 shame in delivering insults, only in receiving them. But a man
 of worth does not revile or pick quarrels with women, children,
 or old men. These categories of persons are inviolable. On the
 other hand, old men are expected to accept with dignity and
 good humour the mild affectionate mockery which is directed
 at them by their juniors.

888 But, although an old man is expected not to interfere in the
 practical arrangement of everyday affairs, he is listened to with
 respect in moments of moral crisis. He has passed beyond both
 the excessive bravadoes of the pallikari, and the cautious
 calculation of the family head. It is felt that the old man, now
 near to death, sees the ultimate values in a situation of moral
 conflict with a clearer eye than do his sons and men of their
 generation.

561 For women there are also three stages of adult life. The
 884 first of these is the category of unmarried girls between the age
 582 of sixteen and such time as they are sought in marriage,
 generally when they are about twenty-five or twenty-six
 years old.

156 It follows from what has already been said about the relations
 577 between the sexes, that the critical quality demanded of the
 884 maiden is shame. Just as the freedom from parental responsi-
 831 bilities permits the young man to live according to the values of

THE HONOURABLE MAN: POSITIVE IDEALS 289

of Pistoilis provoked the criticism of other families. Women must never show emotion in public except where it is conventionally expected, as at a death. A married daughter meeting her father for the first time after a serious abdominal operation from which he had not been expected to recover, merely said in a matter of fact voice 'How are you, father?' A husband does not kiss his wife publicly even in farewell. Sarakatsan women must never shout in public to each other or their husbands as do the village women. In childbirth extreme fortitude is expected. The woman is given a blanket to bite so that she may not scream; and to guard against the possibility of outsiders hearing her groans the other women laugh and talk and, if necessary, beat tin cans. In general, any lack of self-restraint in conventional behaviour suggests that a woman may also be without self-control in respect to her sexual virtue. (156, 885, 597, 834, 152, [844])

There is no need to elaborate again the behaviour expected of a married woman in her roles within the family, qualities such as devotion, humility, and a readiness to co-operate with other women in the group. Physical strength and robustness, rather than fragile beauty, are the physical characters admired in a wife and mother. Without strength the woman is unlikely to survive for long the immense strain of her labours. Health is a question of deep concern for all Sarakatsani but especially for the married woman. To be sick is inexcusable, unless it is an illness that is easily diagnosed and rapidly curable. (885, 156, 581, [826])

As we have seen in an earlier chapter, the woman, especially the mother, expresses the moral solidarity of the family. Women become terrified when they see their men involved in a fight, moaning aloud in their anxiety and continually crossing themselves. But they are also quick to point the path of duty when men hesitate. The scorn of a wife, mother, or sister, is normally more than most men are able to tolerate. When a man has failed to act honourably a portion of the blame falls to the women of the family who are said to lack the courage to shame their men into the right course of action. (885, 156, 593, [857])

But it is in her family that the community chiefly judges the married woman. She must have sons, but one daughter is also desirable. Her own virtues and deficiencies will appear in her children, and upon the manliness of her sons and the shame of (885, 597, 828, [842])

- 581 marrying their virgin daughters to widowers. Thus widowers,
 587 in the main, are the means by which non-virgins, 'used women',
 554 whether they be honourable widows or dishonoured maidens, are fitted into the community institutions of family and marriage. Naturally, the dishonoured amongst their number tend to marry the widowers of lower prestige, and sometimes bachelors who are of poor family or with some physical imperfection. A widower takes a dishonoured woman as a second wife when her remaining childbearing years are few, and he takes care not to make her pregnant. In effect, she is little more than a domestic slave caring for the children of another woman. But any marriage, almost, is better than the shame of 'remaining'. I have only one well documented case of a healthy woman who did not marry, but the deep fear of this fate is nevertheless very real, and often expressed.

(E) THE DISPLAY OF PRIDE

- 554 159 *Περηφάνια*, pride, is a sentiment that a man is entitled to feel if he possesses the elements of prestige. But in the present context we are considering a number of situations where men and their families are expected, or are permitted, to give certain expressive demonstrations of pride.

- 554 The importance of constant self-assertion if a man is to hold his own in the coffee-shop oratory and boasting has already been mentioned. This is the necessary minimum for social reputation. But a successful display of pride demands something more. Here, the etymology of the word *ὑπερήφανος*, proud, is relevant.* From *ὑπέρ* and *φαίνομαι* it is one who shows himself above his fellows. In displaying pride a man must behave in such a way as to show that he believes himself to be superior to other persons. It requires a suggestion of presumptuousness, a subtle air of arrogance, that suggests a man is dominating the gathering, and yet does not proceed as far as an insult or open challenge to others. It is an important element in prestige, but clearly it is also largely derivative from it. A poor man of inferior lineage or low prestige cannot give himself these airs without provoking ridicule.

Not only attitudes, actions, and persons are described as

[113] * Cf. Archbishop Trench, *Synonyms of the New Testament*, London, 1871, p.96.

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775 from the grave and haunts the folds and blights
the pastures.

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[114] A recent unpublished source casts new light on
the obscure drama of nomad marriages. I have
mentioned in reference to the Mani the sword
which, by sympathetic magic, is said to cleave
asunder the bonds of fear and shyness between the
two married strangers when they are finally alone
together. In Sarakatsán embraces, a blade plays a

[352] still more immediate role. Alone in the hut, lying
on cut branches padded with blankets — for there
is never a bridal bed or a sheet and only the strict-
est minimum of undressing — the groom, with
a sudden masterful swoop, leaps athwart the bride,
seizes her by the scruff of her neck, and with bared
teeth and burning eyes, lays the edge of a dagger
at her throat. Most strangely, this time-honored
stratagem works; timidity boils up into hot blood
on either side, confusion is ripped to shreds, the
dagger is flung away, and the union is driven
home and fiercely clinched in a lightning tussle.

834
515 The nomad approach to all feminine physio-
logical troubles is primitive, deep, and dark.
They never undress — all exposure is anathema
to them — and there is some truth in the village
rumors that they never wash. Oddly, they scarcely
smell at all, perhaps because of the time-stiffened
carapace of clothing which encases them. The
author of the unpublished material I have already
mentioned was present at the death of an old
Sarakatsánissa. There was no undoing the thick
geometric livery in which she was cocooned, so
it was torn open with a knife, sending the by-
standers reeling back like the people depicted on

1583
[1583] icons at the Raising of Lazarus. When she mar-
ries, a girl is no longer a member of her own fam-
ily, and sometimes she never sees it again; she is a
slave to her husband and his womenfolk, a stranger
in strangers' tents. It was the rule in the stern old
days that no wife should address her husband in
the first years of her marriage; he, in his turn,
would never call her by name; and many years
and many births had to pass before they would
converse in public.

766 Charon, Death, is a permanent presence and the
most natural of companions. A nomad who per-
ishes in the mountains goes unhoused and un-
[122]
[122] aneled. If he should die on the road — and the
nomads' two yearly migrations, geared to the slow
gait of the flocks, may take twenty-five or thirty
days — he is laid across a pack beast, and after
the body is unloaded, a candle is lit for him three
evenings running and a cup of wine placed "for
his soul to drink from." If a *tsellingas* falls mortally
ill, the bells are muffled; and if he dies, all the
animals, even the bellwethers, are disarmed in
mourning. When men turn fifty and women
thirty, all the nomads, however hale they are,

/134 cont./

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[581] solidarity among the different Sarakatsani groups, it is obvious that divorce or a second marriage would irremediably disturb the established alliances. Even more. There would be a risk that they might give rise to hostilities and disorder.

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578
602 As a matter of fact, in the first case, the dismissal of the wife, an opposite act to that of marriage, implies by its very nature the estrangement /135/ from kin-by-marriage. From another standpoint, it can scarcely fail to provoke feelings of humiliation, of wounded self-esteem, of disappointed egoism, all the more conducive to the development of tensions, if not conflicts, when all of this takes place on a collective level.

[587] Moreover, in case of the death of the wife, the new marriage would separate from the husband's life the relatives of the deceased, who would be replaced in the alliance by the relative of the new wife--an event which could potentially create an explosive situation between two lineages.

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[613] The existence of children would aggravate and multiply the respective grievances. Obligatorily bound at one and the same time to the relatives of their mother and to the relatives of the new wife of their father, the children would be compelled to live in an ambiguous situation. If disaffections of this kind should appear, the matter would concern not only the two lineages involved, but also all the lineages related to the principals by marriage. One sees the entanglement and the number of antagonisms would thus become considerable.

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182 Therefore, there is no doubt that, in the face of the possibility of such serious social complications, the interest of the group require that, if the traditional system cannot be made more flexible, the individuals and their personal happiness must be sacrificed for its benefit.

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[587] This is exactly what happens among the Sarakatsani. Even if life together turns out to be unbearable, the couple must go on. And the widower or the widow remain solitary until death.

* * * *

/136 cont./

583 What must we conclude from this mock abduction? Must we assume
174 that this custom, which goes back to a very remote past, (17)

(17) 17. See Plutarch: Lycurgue: 15. --M. Delcourt:
Hephaistos, p. 195-200.--R. Flacelière: La vie quotidienne
en Grèce, p. 84.

constitutes merely a picturesque survival of the practices of an epoch
when, in order to get women, it was truly necessary to abduct them?

583 It is very probable that this explanation could be correct.

178 However, it is also true that a society preserves old practices only to
the extent that the latter fulfill functions which are indispensable to
its life. In this case, it very often gives them a different meaning from
the original meaning.

583 /137/ Now it seems to us that this abduction represents at one and
182 the same time a symbol and a lesson, addressed both to the newly married
(613) woman and to the society as a whole: henceforth the fiancée must consider
herself uprooted from her paternal family and integrated once and for all
into the lineage of her husband. Moreover, she learns that the woman,
(593) "vanquished" in the game of marriage, owes obedience and respect to her
(562) husband whose relationship to her is that of a master.

583 That this interpretation is correct is attested by a certain number
585 of facts.

582 First, let us mention to begin with a couplet which the women sing
(533) during the wedding feast for the benefit of the bride:

(539) --And you marrying, subject yourself

For such is the divine wish...(18)

18. Reported by B. Skafidias: Ibid., p. 58.

(533) Second, once arrived at the dwelling of her husband, the young wife
(602) is obliged to kiss the hands of all the relatives of the latter, whatever
(539) their age, in order thus to express her "respect" toward her new family,
while all present address her singing:

/137 cont./

583 --In your new dwelling you must conduct yourself
585 In impeccable fashion and bright
602 As the sun and the moon...
533 You must prostrate yourself,
539 You must honor your mother-in-law.
562 And all the relatives of your husband,
If you wish to be honored by all
And thought well of in the entire world...

562 Third, the wife is the only individual who does not take part in
583 the wedding feast. Withdrawn in a corner, her head lowered to show her
585 submission and her piety, fixed in a "modest pose," she must above all
602 take care not to consume anything whatever. In addition for three days,
261 custom has imposed on her a regime of strict abstinence so that her
(516) physiological needs stop. Carrying them out would constitute an insult
to her new family.

583 Fourthly, the wife is all alone when she makes her permanent
585 departure from her paternal home. None of her relatives accompany her.
602 Her /138/ family attend neither the celebration of the marriage nor the
593 banquet. According to some, her parents organize a banquet at their house.
562 According to others, they do not celebrate the marriage of their daughter,
(178) but rather take on an attitude of mourning. It seems that the first version
reflects most recent practices, while the second relates to former times.
What is certain is that the wife must, along with her husband, pay a visit
to her relatives eight days after the marriage. However, it may very
well be that this visit does not recur again subsequently, especially if
the respective kin groups of her husband and her parents migrate to regions
far apart from one another. One even tells of a Sarakatsani woman who did
not have an opportunity to see her paternal family again for 30 years.

593 We note therefore that the uprooting of the wife from her family,
562 her absolute submission to her husband and to the latter's kin and the
594 domination that her husband exerts over her are indisputable. An anecdote

/138 cont./

593 that the Sarakatsani voluntarily tell corroborates these assertions:
562 the mayor of a village one day asked one of the men under him the name
594 of his wife. But the latter did not reply. He had completely forgotten it.

(551) The personality of the wife is so absorbed by that of her husband
(553) that she even loses her first name; she is henceforth given the first name of her husband put in the feminine gender.

583 Now the abduction confirms the rule of that the woman is controlled
593 by the society. Until then at the disposal of her father, she places
562 herself henceforth at the disposal of her husband. That is furthermore
594 why, when we speak of divorce, we are putting ourselves in an opposite
586 perspective, which is inconceivable in the world of Sarakatsani values.

583 It thus seems to us altogether certain that the Sarakatsani
585 marriage ritual is the expression of a coherent and solid set of well-
562 rounded attitudes. In this connection, and even at the risk of repeating
(182) what is known, we should like to quote another Sarakatsani song sung by
(533) the women friends of the wife at the time when they dress the latter.

(533) Simulating throughout a dialogue between the wife and the audience, it
(539) says:

--Oh! Thou lavishly dressed
Whoever has covered you with finery
And who has made you beautiful as the turtle dove?

/139/ --It is my father, my mother, my sisters, my brothers (etc.)
Who have covered me with finery
And have made me beautiful as the turtle dove...(etc.).

This song, which shows proof of the consent of the parents to the marriage, makes it public, as it were, and leaves no doubt about the true nature of the abduction.

(593) Nevertheless, the principle of the wife's submission to her husband
(594) expresses only one part of the relations between the spouses.

/139 cont./

593 Let us make clear, in addition, that the husband owes his wife
562 protection socially as well as economically.

594 Mutual affection is not excluded. It is sometimes even easily
attained. Which is not to say that true psychological exchanges can be
established between the spouses. (19)

(113) 19. The same principle was valid during classical
antiquity and under the hegemony of Byzantium: see

A. Delatte: Le cycéron /?/, passim.--Clément d'Alexandrie:
Pédagogie, M.P.G. 2, 10, 3, 12.

As a matter of fact, the Sarakatsani consider it unworthy for the
man to be content with the company of his wife, to discuss with her their
common problems and to ask her opinion about them. The wife exists only
[842] to work and bear children--to bear boys above all. When daughters are
born, sadness reigns in the family. On the other hand, when a son comes
into the world, his mother presents him with pride to the whole family.

842 Thus we come to a particularly interesting problem, that of descent.
[163] We have already said that the Sarakatsani are prolific.

[789] The study of magic will show us that practices of this order per-
[844] taining to childbirth would not be ranked among the most insignificant.
It is certain that this problem is of fundamental importance among them.

[121] What we wish to bring out in this section is the social aspect of this
problem in the life of our nomads.

848 Let us say, first of all, that what counts especially is the
legitimacy of the descendants. The study of Sarakatsani customs is
very revealing from this point of view.

It seems that the well-known rule of Roman law, which is followed
in very many societies, that is pater est quem nuptiae demonstrant /the
father is whoever the marriage bonds indicates/ has no validity here .
Something /140/ more is required, as is apparent in a certain number
of solemn and social acts having to do with the new household and the
newborn child.

/140 cont./

585 The wife is solemnly presented "to the city and the world,"
602 surrounded and chaperoned by her new lineage, in such a way that
848 everybody knows that she belongs to this lineage and that her
562 descendants are now and henceforward known by it as legitimate.
613

585 /141/ However, since certain points here may still be obscure,
602 let us continue our analysis:

[591] Secondly, the young couple, as we have also seen, settles down in
the hut where the paternal family of the husband lives. In view of
[342] the fact that Sarakatsani huts are not partitioned and that everybody
sleeps on the floor around the hearth, it is easy to understand that
the wedding night is spent--in the midst of the family!

585 In order to justify this practice, the Sarakatsani say that "the
833 sexual act between the spouses should be carried out in the bosom of the
602 family." Moreover, the same holds true for all the couples in the
family.

The Sarakatsani reply to the astonished investigator "that the
newly married couple do not wear bells" that therefore this act occurs
unperceived by the others...However, that is the anecdotal aspect of the
matter.

577 To suppress the barriers of modesty, above all within the framework
834 of this society where morals are very strict, where bold allusions,
831 especially in front of women, are forbidden, (21)

21. We ourselves were present at the following scene:

One evening, the old head of the family, warmed by wine,
started to tell a bawdy story. Whereupon his sons,
despite the respect they owed him, protested to such an
extent that the old man fell silent.

● (513)
where one never even speaks of the sexual life (the account of magic
rites in connection with fertility will furnish an illustration of this),
is not a simple and easy act.

848 /142 cont./

578 a dispute of this kind could only engender disorder, even the dis-
602 solution of the group.

848 It is, moreover, within this same complex of ideas that we must
684 seek the justification of the sanction which is imposed on any woman
convicted of adultery and which always means death. It is essential,
(513) first of all, to prevent even the possibility of illegitimate children.
(152) Sarakatsani law that threatens with capital punishment the women who
betray conjugal fidelity, does not seek to punish the flouting of love,
(182) since love does not exist between spouses--at least officially. It
merely preserves the integrity of Sarakatsani society.

The Life Style of the Conjugal Family.

855 The presence of children in the family raises a whole series
594 of questions dealing with their education, their status and their
relations with each other as well as with their parents.

855 Up to the age of approximately ten years the children of both
593 sexes grow up together under the vigilance of their mother. That is
594 the period of their lives when, on the one hand, the father is seldom
involved and, on the other hand, bonds are established between them
and with their mother. /143/ Having reached this age, the boys begin
855 to follow their father and their older brothers in order to learn the
593 methods of herding, while the girls remain close to their mother in
868 order to be initiated into the mysteries of the distaff and the loom.
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593 Toward their father all the children without distinction owe
594 absolute obedience and devotion. The study of marriage has sufficiently
shown this.

Toward their mother the girls likewise owe obedience and devotion.

For the sons the situation is different. We were present at the
return to the parental hut after a long absence of a Sarakatsani son
aged 30 years. We remember vividly the scene of his meeting with his
mother, which made a great impression on us. He bowed to her and kissed
her hand.

/143 cont./

585 Furthermore, during the preparations for marriage, and specif-
593 ically at the moment when, in the hut of the future husband or the
533 future wife, the wedding pastries are kneaded and baked, the company
[539] sings, always on behalf of the persons concerned, the following couplet:

--Bless me my beloved mother.

--My blessings go with you my daughter (or my son)

May God grant you good fortune and prosperity.

This song shows that the mother is held in high regard. For she has the power to bless or curse her children and therefore exerts an evil as well as a beneficent influence on their destiny.

593 The result is that a son owes his mother respect and affection,
594 on the one hand because she has brought him into the world and reared him on the other hand because of her quasi-magical power over his future, as well as that of his brothers.

Moreover, the son must protect and help his mother and take care of her. When his father dies, it is he who takes charge of his mother and occupies toward her the place of the deceased.

As a result, the son is at one and the same time subordinate and superior to his mother, or, what amounts to the same thing, he plays toward her sometimes the part of a son, and sometimes the part of an elder brother - an ambiguous situation no doubt, but a real one.

593 Obviously, the sisters occupy a position inferior to that of
562 their brothers, even when the latter are younger. And the brothers
594 exert a kind of paternal authority over them. The male sex here once more affirms its superiority over the weaker sex.

(264) /144/ All these matters of precedence are expressed in condensed form in another rule of family and social life in general, which says that women do not have the right to sit down at the same table as the men--whether their husbands, their brothers, their sons, relatives, or guests and friends. (22) In the group of male children, as well as in

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593 /144 cont./
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22. During one phase of our inquiry, one of our /female/ collaborators who accompanied us in order to ask the women questions, had the idea of inviting the women of the family to take part in the meal which was offered us in the family hut. The reaction was immediate and very intense. The embarrassment of all was manifest, conversation ceased and the silence was heavy. Finally, the women declared that they had already eaten, and the atmosphere regained its normal character of cordiality and hospitality.

561 that of the girls one can observe a hierarchy: the older ones assert
594 themselves over the younger ones, and the younger ones obey the older
[593] ones. We may say that the older brother or sister is invested with authority over the younger brother or sister, which reproduces on a smaller scale that of the father or the mother.

593 On the economic plane, it is the father who owns all the family
421 possessions of which he is absolute master and manager. The wife has
594 no right over these possessions. For the children the situation is different and varies according to circumstances. The under-age boys and the girls, no matter what their age, can demand none of the paternal fortune.

However, once they are adult, the sons may demand their patrimony from their father during his lifetime if they wish to marry and establish themselves elsewhere. But that happens very rarely.

The girls, for their part, may demand from their father the means that will enable them to prepare their trousseau in preparation for their marriage.

593 The father is likewise expected to provide his family with the
594 means of subsistence, food, clothing, indispensable services, etc.
[562] Here again, the subordination to the father and the privileged

593 /144 cont./
594 place reserved to the male sex comes out with striking clarity.
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593 Finally, everybody works within the family framework, tasks
594 being divided according to sex. The father, assisted by his son,
462 directs all male work, while the mother, at the head of her daughters,
devotes herself to the tasks of her sex. An adult son may express to
his father his opinion on questions of a technico-economic nature.
And the daughters may do the same with the mother. However, this
opinion is never determinant and is not necessarily taken into consid-
eration.

593 /145/ In addition, the men of the family may give advice to the
594 women, while keeping aloof from performing work reserved to the latter.
562 On the other hand, the women never interfere in the work of the men,
462 either physically or simply to give their opinion.

121 The regime and the economic activity as well as the work will
596 be reexamined in more detail within the context of the extended family
(594) into which the conjugal family is integrated. For it is in this con-
text that we can observe these problems in depth and in all their real
and significant dimensions, since in the extended family as well as in
the Tséligato one finds the most perfect and original manifestations of
the economic organization of the Sarakatsani.

121 It is the same with the intellectual, moral, magico-religious or
128 artistic manifestations. Since these phenomena belong ultimately to
594 Sarakatsani social life in general and not to the conjugal family
taken separately, we shall content ourselves here with touching upon
them lightly, waiting to examine them fully in a special section of our
study.

121 A final remark must be made. We must call attention to the fact
594 that, since the conjugal family is integrated within various social con-
texts the significance of the aspects of the conjugal family analyzed
here, may vary precisely in relation to this integration. It is a

121 /145 cont./
594 question here of a result of dialectical links which develop between the groups in question and on which we cannot expand at the moment.

128 It is suitable therefore at present to stop here and draw up an evaluation, as systematic as possible, of the results of our preceding analysis before pursuing our research further.

* * * *

594 The Sarakatsani conjugal family may be represented in the form
593 of a pyramid of which the summit is occupied by the father, /who is/ the absolute master, head, proprietor and manager, but is also responsible for, and entrusted with, the subsistence and the problems of all.

Below him we find the adult sons who owe obedience to him as well as to their mother in certain cases, and who protect their sisters and their younger brothers. Since they, participating, under the direction of /146/ their father, in male tasks, they represent productive forces. To this end they may give orders to the members of the lower tiers of the pyramid. They are placed in a hierarchy according to the principle of seniority--a fact that makes subtle distinctions in the esteem each enjoys. As future fathers of a family they guarantee the posterity and the survival of the lineage. That is why they have the rights relating to inheritance. Finally, with their marriage, they are able to obtain collaborators and allies for the paternal family.

In the tier immediately below is the wife of the head and the mother of all the descendants; she owes obedience to her husband and, depending on circumstances, to her sons; she works under the supervision of the men at specifically female tasks. On the other hand, she independently manages her household, the education of the children, the group of daughters and all the other female work. As a mother, especially when she has sons, she constitutes the creative source of social values. As a worker, she is a productive force. As a wife, she brings the alliance of her blood relatives. Entrusted with magico-religious skills, she performs these functions without any interference and control.

594 /146 cont./

(593) The daughters, who come next, owe obedience to all the representatives of the preceding tiers. They devote themselves to female tasks like their mother, but under her supervision, and they, too, concern themselves with the education of the children. On the other hand, they represent, in their turn, productive forces and the means of ensuring alliances for the paternal family by their marriage.

594 Last of all come the children who, before the age of ten years, that is to say, before they are ranked in one of the preceding tiers, enjoy absolute freedom and know none of the constraints imposed on the others. However, by means of their daily and constant contact with the women, those preserving guardians of tradition, they are sure to learn the principles of the Sarakatsani traditional life. Yet this social education comes about easily and without special effort on their part, simply by their participation in the life of the hut and in the general ambience prevailing within the framework of the extended family and the Tséligato where rudiments of their instruction are also taken care of, as we shall see later on.

594 We give below a graphic representation of the interior hierarchy within the conjugal family /147/, including both persons and ...

Note: Throughout, the author seems to use "alienation" in the legal sense, namely, "transfer of rights, property," etc; "obligation" seems to be the appropriate translation in the context. F.S.

TABLE No. 3

Hierarchy of the Conjugal Family

Obligation - Compensation

Responsible for subsistence and the problems of all.	FATHER	Absolute master.-Chief.-Proprietor.-Manager.
Obedience to father and partly to mother.-Men's work.-Protection of women and juniors.	SONS	Possibility of commanding the lower tiers.-Economic factors.-Means of alliances.-Future fathers and continuators of the lineage.

3: Kabba'ias--165 E-4,5 (no date) 1965 EH14 Sarakatsani EH14

594 593	/147 cont./ obedience to husband and sons.-Female tasks.- Education of children.	MOTHER	Management of household and of female tasks.-Economic factor.- Means of alliance.-Entrusted with magic and religious ritual.
	Obedience to father, brothers, mother,- Female tasks.- Education of children.	DAUGHTERS	Economic factors.-Means of alliance.-Future mothers of families.
	Education	CHILDREN	Freedom

HIERARCHY of CONJUGAL FAMILY COMPENSATION

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128 /148/ their tasks, in order to clarify the remarks we have made (table no. 3).

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593 Now, a close examination of this table shows very clearly that, though the members of the family are obliged to obey each other and devote themselves to laborious tasks to which they seem harshly bound, they exercise, at the same time, a certain power over each other and enjoy an esteem in society derived from their work and their tasks.

In other words: though the constraints exercised by one tier of the pyramid over lower tiers and the demands of the different tasks corresponding to each tier enslave the persons who find themselves placed there, the vertical distribution of power and prestige based on the competence of each one, gives all the members of the family and to each in particular genuine satisfactions.

As a result, it is justifiable to say that within the framework of the family, where there is an obligation of its members, there is also compensation.

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594 We do not maintain that this duality "obligation-compensation" corresponds to an equation, and that compensation exactly balances obligation. After all, the social repercussion of this double play does not necessarily presuppose the equality of the two terms. In fact, looking at things from their human as much as their pragmatic aspect, one may conclude that, while prescribing strict rules of family behavior,

/148 cont./

121 Sarakatsani culture has created enough loopholes so that discipline
593 and family hierarchical order does not degenerate into veritable slavery
594 for its members. (23)

23. This idea is not at all anthropomorphic. It merely conforms to the point of view that has guided the course of this work. Besides, for us, all the manifestations of a given society arise from the action of its elements and from their dialectical combinations, and are therefore products of its collective consciousness.

121 On the contrary: the dialectic of obligation and compensation smooths
182 out discontent, mollifies oppositions and tensions and permits survival,
593 so to speak, and prevents the explosion of the context in which this
594 phenomenon unfolds. As a result, this same phenomenon must be classified among the causes to be found at the root of the structuring of the Sarakatsani family, and it is in this sense that one must proceed to an appreciation of its social and collective significance.

121 That these assertions cannot be reduced, after all, to an /149/
182 arbitrary construction based on a formal and abstract logic, but that
593 they express factual reality, becomes unquestionably evident from a
594 couplet which the women sing in the course of the marriage ceremony:

--O wife! May you have sons

So that one day they may subjugate other women...(24)

24. See B. Skafidas: Ibid., p. 58.

Lines full of bitterness, no doubt, but in which the apparent resignation is backed up by the hope of future compensation which, although indirect and more or less uncertain, at least lightens the difficult lot of the married woman and makes it bearable for her.

The Sarakatsani are conscious of this interplay. They accept it and make the best of it.

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594 Thus this issue becomes one of the principles according to which their social life is organized and which takes its place in the set of concepts that their social logic has created to that end.

573
594 THE CHARACTER OF THE CONJUGAL FAMILY.

The authority invested in the father-head of the conjugal family and the hierarchy of its members, as it has been described, prove that this unit is dominated by a distinct patriarchy.

However, observation of other families of the same type, ancient or archaic, shows that Sarakatsani patriarchy is more moderate than the latter.

The statements at the end of the second part of the present chapter illustrate this assertion, which we shall not emphasize to avoid repeating ourselves.

THE EXTENDED FAMILY

594 While the conjugal family is destined above all to perpetuate the
596 descent group and thus the "social existence," the extended family
182 allows the Sarakatsani to insure their well-being, conceived in their own way, of course. Without wishing to underestimate their moral aspects and their respective social functions, we may state that the first is focussed chiefly in phenomena of a biological order, while the second is determined largely by economic considerations.

596 /150/ The preceding section has enabled us to demonstrate the first. We shall now examine the second. However, it is appropriate first to distinguish the two forms in which the extended family occurs and which constitute the two variants of its organization and operation.

596 The first form which we may provisionally call "the vertical form,"
613 is made up of a shared ancestor and the families of his male descendants. It is therefore merely a lineage. (25)

25. In accordance with Radcliffe-Brown, *ibid.*, p. 17 and 18, we define lineage as "all the members of the line living at a given time," considered as the social group.

596 /167/ All these manifestations, or almost all, (37)
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37: For the exceptions see below.

are group events, whether it be a baptism, the anniversary /or Saints Day or "fete"/ of the head, the festival following shearing, the cooking of the Easter lamb, or the dance of "Pure Monday," (38)

38. Below, p. 291.

[621] They are never decided by individual initiative; it is the family community that will decide on them. And while tradition is always there to prescribe everything the company must do (or not do), the spontaneity of the participants wells up, the atmosphere grows warm, and the Sarakatsani, forgetting their hard lot, abandon themselves wholeheartedly to the pleasures of the moment.

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596 In introducing this section we pointed out that the extended family controls the life of its members on almost all levels. Now which specifically are the sectors that enjoy relative independence in relation to this family framework seen as a whole?

Close observation of the facts shows that the sphere of activities and manifestations which escape this control is very limited. The girls preparing their trousseaus, the men working with wood to construct and decorate many objects needed by their own families, the shepherd playing the flute, the grandmothers and old men telling legends and stories to the little children and young ones, etc., are a few situations in which certain independence may take place.

[754] Likewise, one could mention the case of women who exercise the evil
[789] eye and seek to protect and care for the woman in child-bed and the newborn child by means of magical practices meant to ward off evils of all kinds. Maternal affection and the acts that it inspires belong to this same order of activity.

594 With respect to the conjugal family as a particular group one must
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/167 cont./

594 mention--except for the choice of husband for one of the offspring and
593 the right of economic control--all the acts relevant to the "family spirit" that are inherent in it, personal relations between parents and children, brothers and sisters, etc.

596 /168/ All these examples emanate from actual family life, but by comparison with the sphere controlled by the framework embracing the extended family, one sees that this is very little.

596 When one of its elements, a single family or individual, tries to
598 act independently in one of the sectors other than those we have enumerated, they find themselves faced with a conflict between individuals, between groups, or between an individual and a group, a conflict which sooner or later ends in a split.

596 However, this is not the moment to speak of that; nor is this the
624 moment to examine how the extended family ordinarily protects itself against this type of crisis, thanks among other factors to the dynamism of the phenomena of obligation-compensation which develops in its midst and also thanks to the mechanism of social control which is peculiar to it. We shall content ourselves for now in describing only these two
128 means of defence (the second in a special section), thus preparing the ground for our final chapter.

* * * *

594 In point of fact, the conjugal families transfer their rights to
596 the extended family. The effectiveness of the system, shown throughout the preceding analyses, constitutes their compensation. The head-manager, to whom his subjects have transferred their rights, enjoys the dignity and privileges of headman and the unquestionable recognition of his talents.

Although they have transferred their economic responsibilities to the head-manager, the heads of conjugal families are, in return, relieved of much worry; they represent productive forces in the family economy and possess the right to censure the headman; masters in their own

/170 cont./

596 may express sentiments that they really feel, but those "that should be
626 felt," expressed in a manner "allowed" by traditional prescription.
[585] Though the study of marriage has already furnished us with some examples
[593] (for instance, the "dialogues" between the mother and daughter at the
moment of separation, spoken by the chorus of assistants), the study
of mourning, of laments, of art, will offer us others.

Finally, /it does so/ by the application of the rules of justice
and morality with which it is entrusted and of which we shall not speak
for the moment in order not to anticipate.

That each social group exerts its "control" over component members,
sub-groups or individuals, is a well-known phenomenon. If we have
wished to throw into special relief the social control exercised by the
extended family it is because the latter is the principal carrier of
Sarakatsani life, therefore the repository of their culture which
justifies its elevation to the rank of "guardian of the past--guarantor
or the future."

The Character of the Extended Family.

596 The extended family is not an "undivided family." The latter
613 actually includes at one and the same time all the descendants and all
the lineages, agnatic as well as uterine, joining them together into
an egalitarian community. (40)

[113] 40. See G. Davy: Sociologues d'hier et d'aujourd'hui,
part 2, La famille et la parenté d'après Durkheim, p. 109.

596 Nor is it a "great family" like the "joint /171/ family" /cited in
171 English/ or the Kharouba Kabyle" (41)

[113] 41. See M. Mauss: Manuel d'Ethnographie, p. 135-136;
Chandrasekhar: The Hindu "joint family" /cited in English/
in the journal Social Forces /cited in Engl./, XXI, 1943,
p. 327 f.; Maunier, R.: Mélanges de Sociologie Africaine,
p. 63 f.

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44. See J. Declareuil: Rome et l'organisation du droit, p. 102 f. See also the analysis of this family by E. Durkheim in the account of G. Davy, ibid., pp. 11-115.

(all of which are prototypic examples of the patriarchal family), with the Sarakatsani extended family, we note that:

[772] --The head of the Sarakatsani family is not in direct contact with any supernatural being (gods, heroes, deified ancestors) whose worship he would insure or of which he would be the incarnation.

--Moreover, he does not have the patria potestas /power of a Roman father/, (45)

45. See Cic. p. domo. 29, D. 50, 16, 195. 2.

which would authorize him to cast away his wife, to abandon his child, to make decisions concerning the life and death of his subjects. (46)

46. See G. 1, 134, 3, 199. P. 5, 11, 1. C.J. 7,7,16,1.

[595] /172/--Likewise, he does not have the right to be polygamous (as is the
[848] case of the Israelite family), nor to have concubines, nor to grant or deny, as he pleases, the legitimacy of his children.

[768] --Finally, his death does not bring about the dissolution of his family as autonomous lineages (Rome), nor the automatic succession of his eldest son (Greece), or of the son instituted by him (Israel).

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Furthermore, on the purely material level, the rights of the Sarakatsani son to his patrimony may be exercised during his father's lifetime. In Rome, the sons did not even have command over the fruits of their personal labor. In Greece, the patrimony, always indivisible, was transmitted from one generation to another. In Israel, finally, the son invested with the succession had all rights over the family fortune, while his brothers were entirely dispossessed.

596 Although cursory, this review of the principal traits of specific patriarchal families which, furthermore, did not recognize kinship through women justifies our point of view: the Sarakatsani extended family is not patriarchal in the strict sense of the term.

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671 However, in view of the fact that the woman is considered a
768 minor in the Sarakatsani family, the problem of a "quasi-guardian"
562 of the widow arises in a case where the children are also minors or
429 if there are no children. The widow is then placed under the protec-
[602] tion, economic as well as social, of the relatives of her husband and
continues to be part of their family.

* * * *

671 A general idea of the law bearing on family matters having thus
been established, we must now examine some particular aspects.

As one moves away from purely familial relationships to those of
predominantly economic interests, one passes from rules of a strict
nature to more permissive rules.

671 Everything that pertains to the moral aspect of the family assumes
593 the form of strict law. (19)

19. This family law is simply the law defining the situation
the condition (the "legal status" of jurists) of each mem-
ber of the family and social group. Its rigid character
derives thus from its nature and from the social function
of the latter. See analogous concepts in: G. Davy: La foi
jurée, p. 371.

Everything that pertains to the management and the utilization of
wealth allows arrangements according to the wishes of the persons con-
cerned. Though no deviation from what is prescribed is tolerated in
a marriage arrangement, in the regulation of the members of the family
or their hierarchy, /207/ the distribution of income or its hoarding,
co-ownership or co-exploitation may assume whatever forms and modalities
the parties decide upon.

671 The only exception has to do with inheritance, for a father never
593 has the right to /arrange for/ the disposal of his goods after his death
428 otherwise than as prescribed by custom. Wills are unknown. Now this

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671 exception is quite understandable when one remembers that the inherited
593 share forms the foundation for the future family of the inheritor and
[428] thus relates directly to the world of family values, to the world of
the "family law."

In the second place, certain strict regulations demand formal application. The consent of the father to the betrothal and the marriage, or the legitimacy of his children must be manifested publicly and in accordance with a definite procedure, as we know. On the other hand, this solemnity and this formality are not demanded in other instances.

Rules of law relating to the Tséligato.

494 If one examines the possible content of the contract (described in
695 Part III of the preceding chapter) which the participants make with the
691 Tséligas, as well as all the rules bearing on its inner functioning, one may state:

First, that the contractual arrangements follow more informal rules. Custom is always there to guide the contracting parties and indicate to them the course to follow, the effectiveness of which time-honored experience guarantees.

Second, that the only rules which seem to be of a strict character are those which prescribe obedience to the head and solidarity among the participants (common defense against trespassing and against all kinds of threats, etc.).

This distinction is justified. By definition economic relations demand a relatively flexible legal support in keeping with the nature of this kind of activity. On the other hand, the necessary homogeneity and safety of all demand absolute conformity to the corresponding rules.

However, neither in the first case nor in the second is formality demanded or a special form of expression of willingness required.

/208/ Finally, the contractual character of these relations leaves a great deal of leeway to individuals as sources of law, and to their

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181 though their nature in this respect were different from that of other
597 human beings. Yet it must be acknowledged, nevertheless, that such relations are extremely rare.

597 The woman, young girl or wife, who carries on illicit relations risks
837 being put to death either by her relatives or by her husband and the
684 latter's relatives. Though marriage with the partner might possibly, if
627 rarely, let the girl escape punishment, an adulterous woman is invariably
602 punished.

Her lover too is exposed to the same punishment, the carrying out of which is incumbent on the relatives of the woman.

The Sarakatsani maintain that the justification for this severe punishment lies in the fact that the act of the woman (young girl or wife) dishonors her family or her husband and his relatives, and that only blood can wash away the stain.

(191) Moreover, this conviction is not peculiar to our herders; one finds
it all over Greece. In our opinion this is an /220/ ideological sublimation
(182) of two principles: that of the societal control of individuals with regard
(848) to marriage, and that of the control of the legitimacy of descent, of which we have spoken above.

837 Observation shows that this belief in "wounded honor" as well as the
597 drama that it provokes recede and diminish to the extent the children, the
562 girls above all, free themselves from paternal and family authority in the
(593) matter of marriage and marry according to their own choice.
(584)

(684) If a lover is not punished by his own relatives for his illegitimate acts it is because, in a system dominated by pronounced patriarchy, the man is a privileged being to whom everything is permitted--a version obviously not acceptable to the relatives of the woman who accuse him of having ruined her.

(626) However, in such a case, the comments, regardless of who makes them, are much more severe towards the woman than towards her accomplice who

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according to their collective memory. If this is true, these verses give us the origin of the practice and at the same time an explicit interpretation which corroborates our own. However, this type of protection against magic is not unknown to the Hellenic people. It is also found in the Peloponnesus, see Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. A. II, p. 263.

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We borrow the citation from Madame Hadjimichali, vol. A, p. 399. However, this author sees in this practice only protection against snake bites and "evils." The protection it provides against magic escapes her.

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754 Yet our examination of this subject would not be complete if we
791 did not speak of the magician and the curse.

The Sarakatsani agree that the "richtologos", the anti-sorcerer, can come from their ranks, but they do not want to admit that there are Sarakatsani sorcerers! According to their accounts, these are always people belonging to surrounding society who are all evil ones and dedicated to the underworld. It is very difficult to tell whether this assertion is true or ideological; in the latter case we are most probably once again in the presence of a phenomenon emanating from the conflict situation that exists between the "in" and the "out groups" /quotations cited in English/.

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754 Be that as it may, it seems that in order to become a sorcerer a person must be trained by an experienced sorcerer. On the other hand, we have obtained no information on the qualities required to become one.

754 As far as the curse is concerned, it is a magic of the word which is not within reach of all. Everybody can curse. But for this act to be effective, its author must occupy a definite kinship position (parents or grandparents against their children or grandchildren) and the curse must be justified. The Sarakatsani say "the curse asks before it acts!" Nevertheless, there are, by way of exception, persons whose curse is harmful even

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128 We shall divide the description of the funeral customs of the
764 Sarkatsani in accordance with the different aspects of the layer in question.

SOCIAL ASPECT OF FUNERAL CUSTOMS.

763 LAYING-OUT AND LAMENTING THE DECEASED.--MOURNING.

(602) At the moment of the death struggle only close relatives have the right to assist the dying one. The others withdraw in order to give him the opportunity to express his last wishes to those close to him. This is a matter between the family group and him alone.

764 When the dying one has breathed his last, the laying-out is begun.
593 If a young man is involved, his mother, his father, his brothers, his
604 cousins and his uncles undertake it. If it is a married man, his wife
(605) is added to the persons just mentioned. If the deceased is a young girl, it is her mother, her sisters, her father and her aunts who take part. If it is a married woman, her husband assists the other members of the family.

764 As we see, the choice of persons who have the right and the duty to
834 undertake the laying-out of the deceased, hence to see and touch the nude corpse, follows the rules which, while he is alive, permit or forbid close and intimate relations with persons of the opposite sex. Evidently, it /336/ is a rule based on "modesty," but which, in reality, is based on the rules of marriage and the functions of kinship that are familiar to us.

764 Unmarried persons are dressed in a wedding costume, for it is
(589) shameful to die unmarried. Funerals then become a marriage with the earth! (12) Married individuals wear their best outfit.

(171) 12. This is an idea and a custom very widespread throughout Greece. Antigone, condemned by Creon, laments that she must die celibate.